THE HIROSHIMA PANELS: AN INSPIRED WORK OF ART FROM JAPAN...pp. 6-7

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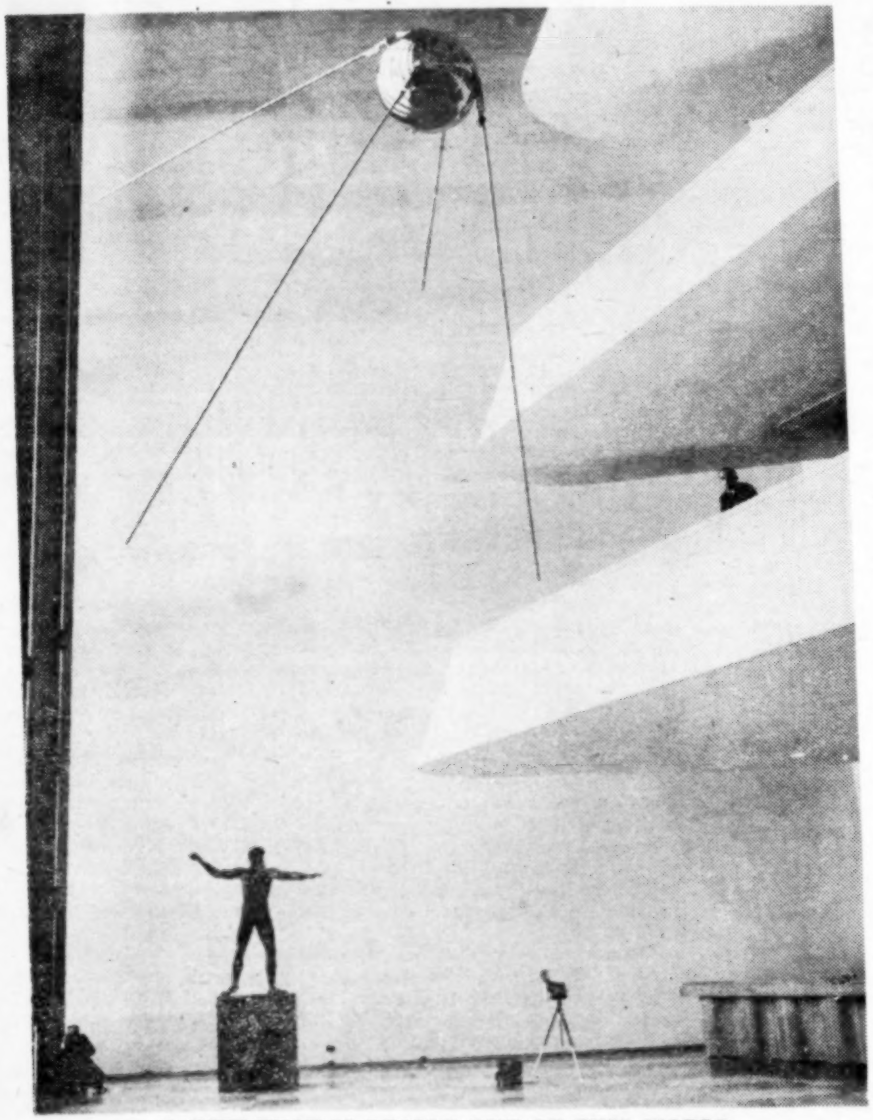


A GIFT THAT IS REALLY OUT OF THIS WORLD
Suspended by a thin wire in the public lobby of the United Nations building, this life-sized model of the first Soviet Sputnik, launched in October, 1957, was presented to the UN recently by the Soviet delegation. Just a year ago, on Jan. 2, 1959, the Soviets fired a rocket past the moon into solar orbit. In the floor of the UN lobby, Hercules takes the whole thing in stride: he's an old solar boy himself.

WANTED: A POLICY STATEMENT

The Summit is certain but the U. S. position there certainly isn't

By Kumar Goshal

ON CHRISTMAS DAY, 1959, Soviet Premier Khrushchev accepted with warm cordiality the Western proposal for a Summit meeting in Paris. Thus, after months of pulling and hauling, a meeting of the heads of state of the Big Four was assured. A conflict over the proposed date—April 27—was in the process of being resolved. Mid-May was the likeliest time.

Yet while the talks were assured, the position of the U.S. at the Summit remained uncertain. All reports indicated that President Eisenhower had failed in Paris to reconcile the differences among the NATO allies and to settle NATO's future (see Paris dispatch, p. 8). Since his return home, he has presented no clearcut statement of policy that might have resulted from his whirlwind tour of three continents.

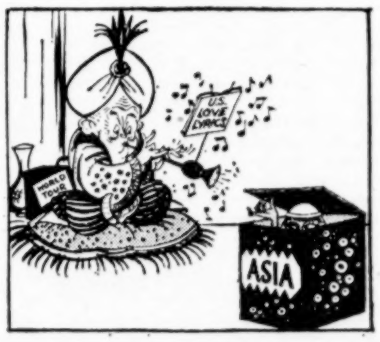
THE PRESIDENT'S POINTS: In his Christmas message to the nation and to "workers for a just peace" everywhere, the President attempted to give his combined blessing to frugality, private enterprise and aid to the poorer countries. He made these points:

- He went abroad not to "seek specific agreements" but to "improve the climate in which diplomacy might work more successfully."
- Most of the people in the crowds that welcomed him were "poor, weary, worn by toil."
- He felt that "peace in freedom is the key to betterment of peoples everywhere" and found that everyone wanted peace.
- "Bare coexistence" was not "a satisfactory state for mankind. After all, an uneasy coexistence could be as barren and sterile, joyless and stale a life for human beings as the coexistence of cellmates in a penitentiary."
- In the "vicious battle for survival against weather and disease and poverty, some peoples need help." The U.S. should continue its "financial investment and aid" to these peoples and persuade "other free nations to join" in a "long-term program." And in giving such aid, "we must be hardheaded but understanding."
- Meanwhile, the U.S. and its allies must "provide the defensive strength against aggression . . . until controlled and safeguarded disarmament allows its reduction, step by step."

THEY'RE NOT WORRIED: No one could disagree with the President's statements that the poorer countries need peace and long-term aid to develop their economy, and that "bare coexistence" is not enough. But his continued stress on private investment in underdeveloped lands and on maintaining "defensive strength against aggression" is hardly the answer.

An acute Eisenhower would have noted

(Continued on Page 3)



Williams, London News Chronicle

RACE, POLITICS AND PUBLIC TRUST

The case of Hulan Jack

By Louis E. Burnham

IT MAY BE SAID of Manhattan Borough President Hulan E. Jack that the ethics of some of his critics are no purer than his own. The facts would also seem to support the judgment that racial discrimination has denied him equal opportunity with many of his white political compeers to tamper with the public trust on a grand scale.

But these conclusions hardly constitute an excuse for the man who holds the highest elective administrative position of any Negro in contemporary U.S. politics. For it is not possible to mount a popular campaign in defense of an elected official on the ground that his transgressions are picayune in comparison with others.

This was the dilemma faced by Harlem's professional and amateur politicians who rushed to Jack's defense after his admission that he had permitted a man seeking favors from the city to pay $5,500 for the modernization of his apartment.

(Continued on Page 8)

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REPORT TO READERS

Courage that could not be extinguished

THE YEAR 1960 BEGINS with higher hopes for world peace than any year's beginning since 1945. Then, with victory in sight over the fascist axis, the allied great powers offered the world the prospect of an era of peace and reconstruction. From Yalta, Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks, blueprints emerged for the maintenance of non-aggression, aid to stricken nations and a world organization for peace.

Vigorously, joyfully, men and women all over America welcomed these objectives. What they encountered in opposition is a pattern which every progressive in America knows by heart: the Truman Administration's quick scuttling of the Roosevelt peace plans; Churchill's "iron curtain" speech at Fulton, Mo., before the United Nations organization was a year old; the spy hysteria whipped up by Nixon and Mundt in '48; the jailing of anti-fascists; the Smith and McCarran Act persecutions; the sacrifice of the innocent Rosenbergs to the justification of the Korean War; the fearful McCarthy years; and still-continuing legislative witchhunts.

That the concept of peace—and even the right to write, speak and assemble for it—should have survived these grisly 15 years to become the realizable hope of an overwhelming majority of Americans today, is a commentary on the stubborn good sense of the American people as a whole, and a tribute in particular to those men and women whose zeal and courage in the fight for peace and liberty could not be extinguished by a decade of fear.

IT IS INCONGRUOUS—and cruel and unusual punishment indeed—that as this New Year begins, with all its high resolves for peace, that a great number of fighters for peace should today in our country be jailed or facing jail, for just such courage.

A first order of business, when the Federal courts convene this week for the new year, will be the trial of America's best-

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG
USM

On human rights

NEW YORK, N. Y.

There was a grotesque note in the discussion of the Hungary issue at the UN when a vehement protest against the interference of foreign troops in the domestic affairs of another nation was launched by the representative of Spain! Twenty years after the troops of Hitler and Mussolini won the victory for Franco over the Loyalist government, and exactly 13 years after the UN General Assembly moved that Spain "be barred from membership in the UN until a new and acceptable government is formed."

With reference to the case of Dr. Uphaus, you may be interested in a statement of the representative of Rumania. He said that he was unable to understand why the UN cares so much about the human rights of the Hungarians while they show no interest at all in the human rights of citizens of a so-called "free" nation who are prosecuted and jailed for refusing to become informers.

I sent the statement to Gov. Wesley Powell of New Hampshire. **John H. Beck**

Mine-Mill oldtimer

NOXON, MONT.

I can remember when they just shot the mine strikers down or beat them to death. That did not work, so they are going to lock up the men who will try to lead them in the name of liberty.

Who wants liberty? I'll tell you who wants liberty; every big company in this U.S.A. wants liberty, to hire the working man for just as near starvation wages as possible. They want to get us all down the same as they have the colored labor of the South.

C. R. Weare

No mother, he

SOUTH GATE, CALIF.

In his optimistic appraisal of man's ability to feed himself, J. D. Bernal left out several factors: the increasing use of land for the disposal of atomic waste; pollution of the water by undersea atomic explosions; pollution of food sources by radioactive fallout; depletion of the world's resources (oil, coal, natural gas, etc.); unknown effects of underground atomic explosions, such as possible pollution of underground water sources; pesticides; pollution of the air, land, and water by industrial waste; and finally the fact that many of the undernourished people of the world live in areas which cannot support them—either the food must be imported or the people exported. Even under world-wide socialism—which is the only salvation of the world, as I see it—this will be a tremendous task.

Prof. Bernal, apparently, is no mother. If he were, he would know that a considerable proportion of the world's population is on the earth either because of ignorance of birth control or a superstitious belief that birth control is wrong. **Dana Platt**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

SAN FRANCISCO (AP)—James A. Rork, Arizona employment service director, suggests Indian smoke signals as the answer should nuclear attack wipe out all modern communications.

Rork told an emergency manpower conference of western civil defense officials:

"In Arizona we use smoke signals to reach Hopi Indian firefighters in an emergency. We burn old automobile tires to make good black smoke."

—Long Island **Daily Press** 12/15/59.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: M. G., Jamaica, L.I., N.Y.

Wait till next year

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Those astute theoreticians who advocate working in the Democratic Party to influence it now see their good work show top-grade results.

Truman demands that nuclear tests continue; Acheson very neatly fills the shoes of Dulles; Symington calls for a larger airforce; Mayor Wagner continues to witchhunt school teachers even against court decisions; Senator Douglas of Illinois leads the so-called "Committee of One Million" against People's China; and now Adlai (himself) Stevenson calls for laws to curb strikes.

L. B.

Mandatory

RICHLAND, N. Y.

It is reported that Ike will recommend a military budget of $41 billion. This will be raised from taxpayers money, the greatest proportion from those of small income. It will be spent mostly for expensive machines which will be blown up, and for the service branches who do the blowing. In other words, destroyed as far as possible.

We should have a national initiative, referendum and recall. Five per cent of the electorate in six or more states should be able to call for any one or all three and their verdict should be mandatory. It would be a sign of progress if such a plan could be adopted and under it a candidate would have to keep his promises.

Paul Hamilton

Warm down there?

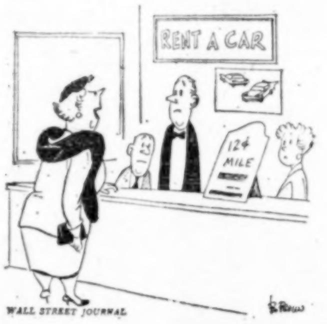
MELBOURNE, FLA.

The J. D. Bernal article showing that population growth is no threat for a free society is very interesting. The photograph accompanying the article shows a bumper crop of wheat, with the caption: "We can already grow all the food needed to feed the hungry around the world."

The article talks about beef, milk, eggs, butter, etc. I would suggest that British-scientist Bernal read fellow-scientist Huxley's book **Man's Place In Nature,** where he will find that man is a primate and a frugivore and that his normal food is fruit. He should also read **How Nature Cures** by Emmet Densmore, M.D., and he will find that not even **vegetables** are the right food for Man, and that grains are taboo; that Man is not a grain-eating animal.

If I were in charge of this muddled up world, I would have every person, every town, every state, and every nation plant fruit trees all over this globe (instead of elms, maples, oaks, and other ornamentals). This would be tough on the grocery stores because human beings could get food at any tree along the highway, but it would certainly solve the food problem.

Of course, someone is going to say: What about the winter time when trees don't produce? Well, there's storage. But even more important is the theory that man is really a tropical animal; he really belongs in the tropics (where the other members of the primate family are) and fruits grow in abundance all year long there. Man is not a polar bear; if he migrates to colder climates, he does so at his own peril. **David Stry**



Wall Street Journal

"I want to rent a car—my husband doesn't trust me with his any more!"

Happy event

YOUNGSTOWN, O.

All our thanks for the wonderful way you handled the story of Thornhill. "Thanks in Thornhill" really did a good job for our affair. There were people in attendance who had not before attended any previous function. They were GUARDIAN readers and came when they read the facts in our case. Many found friends and acquaintances that had not come together for seven to eight years. We had looked forward to 40 or 50 people and felt if that many came that would be considered very good. But to our surprise we received between 75 and 80, including some young people. All were very happy. Donations came from people far away from Youngstown.

We of Thornhill plan to have a thank-you party for the GUARDIAN early in January. I don't know the date as yet. When we have finished with the balance due our lawyer, we hope to be of more help to the GUARDIAN.

Pauline Taylor

*Thornhill, home of Youngstown's United Cultural Center, was the subject of a "Report to Readers" last Thanksgiving, when a three-year court fight for possession of the home was won by Mrs. Taylor and others who had been witch-hunted by the Walter Committee. Our report told the story and urged readers to rally to the "Victory Supper."—*Ed.

Stephan Martinchuk

DAYTONA BEACH, FLA.

On Nov. 27 the GUARDIAN lost a friend and constant reader in Stephan Martinchuk of Titusville, Fla. He was a faithful and untiring crusader for socialism all his adult life. He was born in Czechoslovakia 86 years ago and as a young man was a pioneer worker and organizer. After coming to this country in 1902, he continued his activities, and became co-founder of a Czech workers' newspaper in Chicago.

In 1957 he revisited his native land and was received with honors by the President. He saw his dreams come true in the great progress of Czechoslovakia under socialism.

We make this donation in honor of the memory of this grand old pioneer and dear friend.

J. & D. Lencer

Anna Pearl

BRONX, N. Y.

Enclosed is a contribution in memory of my sister, Mrs. Anna H. Pearl, a loyal and devoted adherent and friend of the GUARDIAN.

Helen Harris

Plug

TORONTO, CANADA

I have often meant to write the odd few words of praise for the GUARDIAN, but I don't ever seem to make it. Anyhow, there's very little one can say that is wrong with NG.

M. Berke

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE END OF 1949 cut the Twentieth Century cleanly in half. Stocktaking seemed to be in order, but an inventory depended on who did the auditing. The gains and losses—for the people—were not easy to reckon. It would take a longer time for the kind of knowing hindsight that could get the books straight and state clearly where the world stood at the midway point between 1900 and 2000.

To many the year 1949 seemed dark and the future foreboding. Yet the last year of the first 50 contained many a bright sign pointing to better times to come. For one thing, 1949 was the first full year of life for the GUARDIAN.

It was a bleak year of cold war, yet the GUARDIAN in 1949 found enough news of peace to make it the subject most written about in its pages. In 1949, 17 peace conferences were held in ten countries. To them came upwards of 100,000 delegates. Behind them stood most of the earth's population to whom it was clear that two world wars in one generation were more than plenty.

—National Guardian, January 2, 1950

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REPORT TO READERS

Courage kept alive

(Continued from Page 1)

loved folk singer, Pete Seeger, for refusing on constitutional grounds to submit to a Congressional witchhunt into his many years of writing and singing for peace and equality the world over. Two actors will also go on trial at the same time, cited for contempt of the Walter Committee for standing on the First Amendment.

This week a brilliant young mathematician will surrender for imprisonment, convicted on the same charge. In New Hampshire—the state which has imprisoned Dr. Willard Uphaus for refusing to hand over to the state attorney general the list of people who rallied for peace at the World Fellowship last summer—imprisonment awaits a second victim, Hugo de Gregory, for refusing to testify against himself under the Fifth Amendment (he was held under subpena for nearly a year while an immunity law was passed to force him to testify).

Author Harvey O'Connor faces trial for refusing to accept a subpena issued because he called a meeting for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Fellow "abolitionists" Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson have already been convicted of contempt of the Committee they work to abolish.

College professor Lloyd Barenblatt has been jailed for defying this Committee, and in Washington Prof. Richard Reichard has been fired by George Washington University for using the Fifth Amendment before the same Committee.

The Committee also threatens 14 Puerto Rican patriots with contempt citations for defying the inquisition in New York and San Juan; and the State of Florida threatens three NAACP leaders with prison for refusing to turn over their membership lists to a state legislative inquiry, the same course pursued by Uphaus in New Hampshire.

IN ALL, INCLUDING BARENBLATT, Uphaus and Prof. Chandler Davis, the mathematician scheduled to surrender this week, the Committee of First Amendment Defendants (P.O. Box 564, Radio City Sta., New York 19, N.Y.) counts 48 men and women who face jail on First Amendment grounds alone. Among these are Braden and Wilkinson, the Puerto Rican group, three N.Y. newspapermen, two TV workers, five steelworkers, two other union men, a librarian and an engineer.

In addition, facing jail in "aftermath" proceedings under a Taft-Hartley provision now inoperative, are the Cleveland and Denver T-H defendants. Also, still in jail are Morton Sobell, Alfred Dean Slack and the Smith Act victims, as well as those appealing convictions in Denver and others facing revived prosecution in Ohio. A cluster of indictments under Smith Act "membership" provisions are pending, as well as numerous individual T-H cases throughout the country.

WE, TOO, LOOK TO 1960 AS A YEAR of hope for peace, and believe American progressives must find ways to force the issue in electoral 1960. But we believe, also, that a concurrent order of business must be the succor of all the victims of the fight for peace and decency in the dark decade behind us.

We will continue in 1960, as in the past, to report these matters to you. We wish they might all be fought as a group, but this is not possible. Yet we, as a task force, must resolve to fight for them on whatever front we can. Of all our years, 1960 is one in which the fight for peace must be unfettered. In this fight we need all our veterans.

—THE GUARDIAN

SOLE ACCOMPLISHMENT—THE INVITATION TO MR. K

NATO strains unresolved at Paris meeting

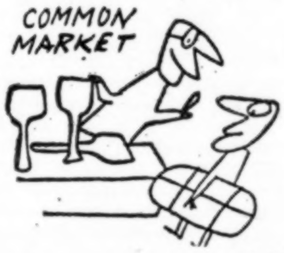
Special to the Guardian

PARIS

THE outstanding thing about the pre-Christmas Paris NATO and Little Summit meeting was that it settled little and resolved nothing. Its one tangible result—the invitation to Mr. K—could easily have been accomplished without convening such a galaxy of political and military leaders plus several hundred foreign journalists.

No less significant, for other reasons, was the tendency to give more, and perhaps first, attention to economic problems. President Eisenhower seemed particularly convinced of their urgency. NATO itself, however reluctantly, has had to take notice of this new appraisal of the situation. It has received what may be a fatal blow: the Ike-K rapprochement threatens its very reason for existence.

In the much discussed, much speculated-about NATO crisis that was one of the centers of interest in Paris, the recent "leak" of a critical report by Gen. Nathan F. Twining, chairman of the U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, was not a bombshell, but it did bring into the open a number of latent troubles.



Canard Enchaine

". . . and if you lose a leg in the deal the house gives you a wooden one, *free!*"

OBSESSION: NATO, since its formation in 1949, has been obsessed with anti-Sovietism, its sole binding power for a purely military alliance. The Atlantic defense conception was severely shaken by the unexpected Soviet advance in nuclear weapons. When Moscow had caught up with Washington in this field and the Pentagon had a sudden realization of U.S. vulnerability, it underwent a fundamental change of view as to the functioning of Atlantic defense.

The U.S. could no longer engage in total nuclear warfare at the first supposed Eastern attack on Europe, but would have to try to limit the war to European soil and keep it from the American continent. America would no longer be the nuclear shield of Europe; rather, Europe became the atomic advance-post and if possible, the battlefield for the American mainland. This new Pentagon conception, revealed in Europe from the start and as often denied by Washington, was only recently confirmed again by Secretary of State Christian Herter when he explained before a Congressional committee last April 21 that the U.S. would engage in total nuclear warfare only "if the facts showed that we were in danger of devastation ourselves."

Within this general picture, what is Gen. Twining's complaint all about?

'INTEGRATION': In the winter of 1957, in the face of the first Soviet sputnik, the Pentagon devised a new "integrated" defense which involved stationing on European territory nuclear weapons under U.S. control, with very exact military obligations for all NATO members as to their contributions of manpower and equipment.

So far only four countries (Great Britain, Italy, Greece and Turkey) have permitted installation of nuclear American missiles on their soil. And most European countries have fallen far behind their NATO obligations, both in integration and in divisional strength. Instead of the minimum requirement of 30 divisions (already considered insufficient under a new strategic view that the use of nuclear weapons would call for more, not fewer conventional armies), Gen. Lauris Norstad presently has at his disposal only 16.

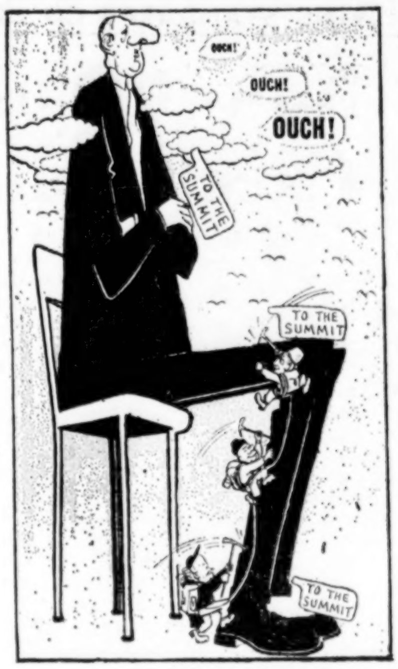
The NATO air forces are not only far below the minimum set in 1957, but are made up of such a variety of aircraft that maintenance and repair problems have become acute. Integration is completely non-existent when it comes to European defense against air attack.

FRANCE BLAMED: NATO complaints were directed particularly against France because Paris has fulfilled less than half its divisional obligations to NATO, and De Gaulle has refused integration outright, particularly when it comes to air forces. As a result, some tactical U.S. air units have just been transferred from France and are being stationed elsewhere in Europe as of Jan. 1, 1960.

But nothing was settled in Paris about NATO complaints against France, any more than anything was done about De Gaulle's grievance regarding recent U.S. abstention in the UN Algerian vote, and the joint Ike - Bourguiba communiqué stressing the desirability of early peace in Algeria. Observers who expected Ike and De Gaulle to thrash things out with military frankness were deceived. In their private conversations, both issues were brought up briefly and politely without touching fundamentals. "Nothing has been straightened out" was the unanimous opinion of the French press.

The Paris talks were devoted more to economic problems, both inside the Western camp where an overall harmony, in Europe as well as between Europe and the U.S., seems difficult if not impossible to establish, and with regard to the growing East-West competition.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS: The predominance of economic questions has become sharp enough to foster the idea of a joint Western economic round-table that will not only comprise the countries of the European market and the Organization of European Economic Cooperation, but Canada and the U.S. as well. **Le Monde** noted that for the first time "the U.S. has agreed to discuss [economic cooperation] on the same footing as the European nations." No end of difficulties can be predicted for this new economic committee (which in the minds of many is destined above all to meet the challenge of the Soviet economic offensive) where the conflicting interests are sharper than in other fields.


OUCH!
OUCH!
OUCH!
TO THE SUMMIT
TO THE SUMMIT
TO THE SUMMIT

Waite, London Daily Sketch

Three victories were claimed for the Little Summit that sent the invitation to Mr. K. German observers said the conference had been a triumph for the Chancellor because he succeeded in having the Berlin question included in the package deal to be offered to Mr. K. French spokesmen hinted the meeting had been De Gaulle's show because the Big Summit had been fixed at the late date he had wanted. British papers saw Macmillan as the great winner because the Big Summit, whose first Western advocate he had been, was in view.

That there would be a Summit Meeting at last seemed indeed more important than anything else. And it wasn't certain at all that Adenauer would be able to guide it by remote control along his own cold war course once the negotiations were off to a good start.

The certain Summit

(Continued from Page 1)

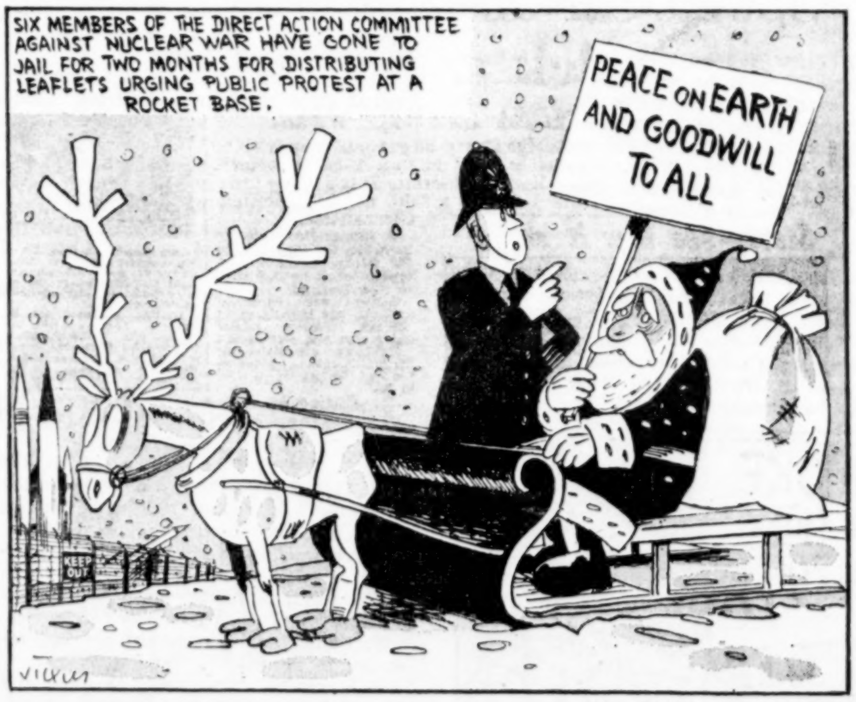
on his tour that no one—not even America's closest allies—are worried about military aggression from the socialist countries. Even India, with its tense border situation, does not believe that China plans an attack. This artificially-created fear of aggression from socialist countries has, in fact, retarded economic development in many underdeveloped countries.

The hollowness of the "threat" was most glaring in Paris. There it was painfully apparent that none of the NATO partners of the U.S. was willing to increase its military or financial contribution to the alliance because none felt threatened by the Soviet Union or any other nation.

DO IT THROUGH UN: If Eisenhower faced this fact squarely, he would see that East-West coexistence need not be "uneasy" and "barren" but could be friendly and constructively competitive. And the best way to keep it so in the field of foreign aid, would be to channel such aid through an impartial agency, such as the UN, rather than through a coalition of Western powers bent on cut-throat competition for economic advantage and special concessions.

This competition among Western nations, in fact, was in progress even as plans were being made for the Summit meeting and disarmament discussions were scheduled to resume in Geneva in the spring. The London **Daily Express** reported (Dec. 11, '59) that the Macmillan government was building up "armament cartels of British and German firms," involving the Rolls-Royce, English Electric, Maschinenfabrik Augsburg Nurnburg and Krupp.

The government's purpose in promoting these cartels, the **Express** said, was to "offload some of the enormous research and development costs of new weapons"; strengthen the West German forces in NATO, and find a way into the arms market of Western Europe despite barriers set up by the European Common Market. This business-as-usual policy would hardly contribute to a successful Summit conference.


SIX MEMBERS OF THE DIRECT ACTION COMMITTEE AGAINST NUCLEAR WAR HAVE GONE TO JAIL FOR TWO MONTHS FOR DISTRIBUTING LEAFLETS URGING PUBLIC PROTEST AT A ROCKET BASE.
PEACE ON EARTH AND GOODWILL TO ALL
KEEP OUT
VICKY

Vicky, London Evening Standard

"I'll have to run you in, old man, that's liable to cause a breach of the peace."

A HOPEFUL NOTE: There are difficult and complicated problems to be solved at the Summit—even with best of intentions on both sides. Hence it is a hopeful sign that the principle of a series of Summit meetings has been accepted.

But for the series to be progressively fruitful, the first meeting will have to lay the foundations by reaching a minimum agreement on (1) relaxation of international tension; (2) suspension of nuclear weapons tests, and (3) an interim agreement on the status of Berlin, where tension will increase with the nuclear arming of Bonn's troops.

To the American people, 1960 presents a great challenge as well as a great opportunity. But to realize it they will have to persuade the present Administration to set in motion at the first Summit meeting progressive disarmament, disengagement at the gravest points of tension and unfettered trade and economic cooperation through the UN.

And they will have to do their utmost in the coming election campaign to ensure that the next Administration, which will represent the U.S. at conferences to follow, builds on the foundation laid at the first one.

Europe, Anyone?

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London County Councilor
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LIVING STANDARDS GO UP

New towns symbolize Czech industrial growth

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PRAGUE

A BROAD CENTRAL avenue divides two blocks of apartment houses. From the main avenue, side streets fan out diagonally. In some apartments window panes still bear the builders' marks. Houses, gardens, schools, shops, churches—all are new and some unfinished. The town has stepped right out of a city planner's blue print and its name is not yet on any map.

The new town of Poruba now has a population of 50,000, with a planned goal of twice that. Everything about the town moves toward the future. Building is going on everywhere and baby carriages crowd the streets. (The average age of Porubans is 26 and children make up 60% of the population.)

"There will be another school over here," a man in the street points. "On the avenue up there, a street car will be running next spring. This plot is for a neighborhood garage of 600 cars."

BUSTLING: Poruba is living a full life while it grows. At the House of Culture, the theater on the ground floor is getting ready for a late afternoon performance. In the basement, 16- and 17-year-olds rehearse a new puppet show in a children's theater.

A flight up, there is a lecture on a literary topic. Next door, trade unionists hold a discussion. On the top floor, there are sculpting, painting and ballet rooms. At a concert grand piano, a youngster plays Beethoven, Chopin and jazz.

The boy's Slovak parents must have grown up in hunger. In his grandparents' generation, half the population of Slovakia emigrated for lack of work. "If some one should tell that youngster a few years from now how life went for the generations before him," an elderly man said with a wondering look in his eyes, "he will probably not even understand the meaning of such words as underfed, underschooled, unemployed . . ."

RAPID GROWTH: Poruba is one of three state- and factory-financed sister towns. Havirov, 22,000, and Stalingrad, 17,000 strong today, will have populations of 60,000 and 40,000 in a few years. All three owe their existence to nearby Ostrava, Czechoslovakia's most important heavy industry combine.

Ostrava's Klement Gottwald Steel Works are only seven years old. Today they spread over a territory the size of a small town and are still expanding. Ostrava, like the rest of the country, is perpetually building.

I watched two men proudly operate a huge 12,000-ton press, Europe's biggest. (The press had been ordered in the U.S. for $1,000,000 in 1949, but Washington refused an export license. So Czechoslovakia built its own.) They maneuvered it with a juggler's skill to show off to the foreign visitors—like all workers with an industrial tradition and a pride of craftsmanship. That tradition is what helped Czech industry to such a fine new start after the war, and to such a high international rating.

Ostrava's youth and Ostrava's growth are shown in a few figures. Its 1959 steel production (1,100,000 tons) will increase nearly two-and-a- half times in the next six years. Its 15,000 steel workers (they will number 30,000 by 1965) have an average age of 28. The work's director, who started at the bottom of the ladder and picked up most of his grades in evening school, is only 36, and he would be very much surprised if anyone found anything surprising about the fact.

CARE OF CHILDREN: Sun terraces and large bay windows, immaculate cleanliness and the latest hygienic, hospital and surgery equipment: this is Children's Hospital at Brno, one of the country's most modern. This one hospital has half the number of beds that the whole of Czechoslavakia provided for its children before the war.

The patients range from new-born babies to 15-year-olds. Up to that age, child health is the full responsibility of the state. In a lush villa not far away, (formerly owned by a rich German business man) the Institute for Therapeutical Gymnastics cares for young orthepedic and polio victims. School comes to the Institute each morning for the children who undergo treatment there.

This complete and free health service to children—beginning with childbirth and pre- and post-natal care to all mothers—has its results: Infant mortality in Czechoslovakia (3%) has become one of the world's lowest.

In addition to child health care, 97% of the adult population is covered by Social Security which entitles them to free medical care.

INTEREST IN WEST: Talk to a Czech student, and he will soon begin to ask questions about Sartre or about England's Angry Young Men. There is a great curiosity in Czechoslovakia about Western books and ideas. There also is a great desire for travel in Western countries. I have heard a young woman worker in a shoe factory sigh for a trip to Paris.

Unfortunately, as things are today, both the curiosity and the desire remain largely unfulfilled. There are foreign books and publications coming into Czechoslovakia, but apparently not enough to satisfy prevailing appetites.

As for travel to the West, it is open to the average citizen in travel-agency-organized groups only and in limited numbers. The major reason advanced by the government for travel restrictions is the lack of foreign currency. This in itself is an indirect result of limitations imposed on East-West trade by the cold war. Another more direct cold war reason undoubtedly predominates. Czechoslovakia is geographically the most advanced Eastern outpost in that war. Prague is only a stone's throw from U.S.-occupied Western Germany; from Radio Free Europe in Munich; from Bavarian counter-intelligence training camps.

Even this year, an undisclosed number of saboteurs were parachuted onto Czech territory on missions to blow up industrial installations; military guards still watch over power dams and other vital points. In this undeclared, non-shooting war of which everybody in Czechoslovakia is acutely conscious, unlimited foreign travel may well appear unwise to the Czech government. Once the cold war is finally ended, it will have left the Czechs among its last victims.

LIFE OF A MINER: The apartment on the fifth floor had a large living room, a comfortable bedroom, kitchen, pantry, bathroom, lobby, and plenty of closet space. It had central heating, an elevator and an incinerator.

It was furnished in the solid conventional style of German-Austrian middle class homes of the 1920s. There was an ice-box and a TV set. (There are 450,000 TV sets in Czechoslovakia today for a population of 13,000,000, almost twice as many per capita as in France.) There also was a small library. Swift, Stendhal, Andersen were some of the authors I noted.

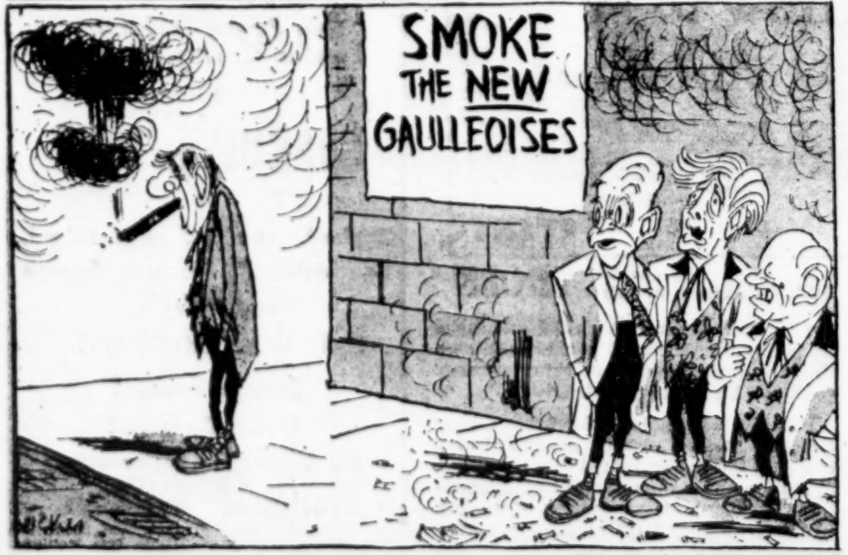
This was the apartment of Frantisek Huml, his wife and their two little girls in the mining town of Kladno. Frantisek is a foreman in charge of a crew of 60 miners. His basic wages are 2,000 korunas a month. With bonus and overtime, he averages about 3,300. He works 46 hours a week, soon to be reduced to a 40-hour week. He gets two weeks' vacation (five weeks after the age of 33.) His 1959 vacation on the Black Sea cost him 270 korunas for himself and his wife. He will be pensioned at 55 at 100% of his wages if he has accumulated 20 work-years. Mrs. Huml spends 1,200 korunas on food and less than 220 korunas rent. In other words, the family spends a little over 40% of its income on food and rent.

Miners are a privileged salary group in Czechoslovakia today: their wages can reach 4,500 and 5,000 korunas, approaching a cabinet minister's pay. Checking on salaries and budgets in many other trades from metal worker to mason and from cook to agricultural worker—I found that food and rent rarely take up more than 50% of a man's earnings.

The average citizen's living standards: his housing and food, the health and school and vacation and cultural services he gets from his government free or for a nominal charge, is what strikes the visitor most in Czechoslovakia today. It is of relatively recent date. Efforts were concentrated on the building of basic heavy industries before Czechoslovakia could have its forward leap. By 1955, personal consumption was up 55% over 1948. There have been seven consecutive price cuts since.

None of this would have been possible without the prodigious upward curve of Czech industrial production.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S NEW MODEL SKODA CONVERTIBLE SPORTS CARS
The country's steel output will more than double in the next six years



Vicky, London Evening Standard

"... Just when WE'RE trying to give it up—for health reasons . . ."

PACIFIST LEADER STAGES 'PICKET-FAST'

French bar team protesting Sahara test

Special to the Guardian

LONDON

IN THE WEEK before Christmas the going was getting rough for British pacifists demonstrating actively against nuclear warfare. Seven leaders of London's Direct Action Committee, which was planning a further sit-down demonstration at a U.S. missile base this month, were hauled before a magistrate and required to promise to "behave."

One promised "for family reasons" and the other six were jailed for two months as "persons inciting the public to commit a breach of the peace." One of those jailed was **Peace News** editor Hugh Brock.

On Christmas Eve., in a lean-to near the French embassy in Accra, Ghana, a "picketing fast" until New Year's was begun by Pierre Martin, a French pacifist with the international protest team against De Gaulle's atomic tests in the Sahara. Martin's fast is in protest against his government's refusal to let the team proceed to the testing-ground. A doctor of law and economics, Martin was a member of the First French oil research team in the Sahara, and until recently worked for UNESCO at Kumasi, Ghana.

MUSTE COORDINATOR: The international anti-nuclear team had made a second attempt to reach the Sahara from here on Dec. 18, and were surrounded by armed guards after penetrating ten miles into the French territory of Upper Volta. The French authorities were still acting with circumspection and, when the team insisted they would continue on their way unless arrested, the guards sent back to their headquarters at Ougadougou for further instructions.

A. J. Muste of the U.S. Fellowship of Reconciliation is in Ghana as coordinator of the project. Thousands of Ghanaians gave the team a send-off at a ceremony chaired by the mayor of Accra and addressed by team leader Rev. Michael Scott and Ghana's ministers of culture and finance. The latter described the team as representing "200 million Africans who don't want to see African soil violated," and added that if France stopped the team "the whole world will protest."

REVOLUTION'S ANNIVERSARY MARKED BY PRIDE AND CONFIDENCE

Cuba makes spectacular advances in first year

By Kumar Goshal

THE PEOPLE OF CUBA marked the first year of their revolution Jan. 1 proud of what they had achieved, confident of the future and convinced of the integrity of their revolutionary government.

But their elation was marred by the bitter thought that their achievements would have been greater if they had been free of counter-revolutionary plots hatched at home and abroad. And their hope for the future was colored by anxiety that the threats to their government had not abated. Premier Fidel Castro, in fact, warned them last month of "inevitable" attempts by the followers of ousted dictator Batista to regain power.

In the face of this unceasing attempt to cripple the economy and overthrow the Castro regime (which started with a treasury looted by Batista and his henchmen), their accomplishments have been spectacular.

ERNESTO GUEVARA
From surgeon to industrial chief

SOMEBODY CARES NOW: Tad Szulc reported (N.Y. **Times**, Dec. 17, '59) that "the revolution gave Cubans an honest government and a feeling that their rulers cared about them." He added:

"The educational system, long neglected, is being rebuilt from scratch; new schools are rising; teaching techniques are being modernized; teachers are better used; and children are given free textbooks and materials. The damage of the civil war to roads and bridges has been repaired, and the government is concentrating on a program of low-cost housing, hospitals, playgrounds and resorts."

Most important of all, agrarian reform is in full swing and diversification of crops has already been launched to rescue Cuba from the perils of a one-crop system and dependence on imported basic foodstuff.

THE NEW CROPS: The Agrarian Reform Institute (INRA) has helped set up 485 farm cooperatives, many of which are planted to tomatoes, beans and other vegetables not cultivated before in Cuba. There are 440 consumer cooperatives where farmers buy basic consumer goods at slightly above cost. They are distant enough from the cities to avoid competition with urban stores. The government has taken over the distribution of consumer staples to eliminate middlemen and cut the cost to the public.

INRA spent $75,000,000 on the cooperatives last year and plans to spend $160,000,000 this year. The currency has been stabilized by halting the drain on dollar reserves: wasteful imports of luxury goods have been curbed by steep tax increases, and flow of dollars abroad has been decreased by allowing travelers to take only $150 and students no more than $1,000. The peso still remains equal to the dollar.

CREDITS FROM ABROAD: The Cuban government remains committed to planned economic development, cooperative farming, the building of light industry. Despite generally adverse comment and reporting in the American press and pressure from Washington, the government has been able to obtain credits and make barter deals abroad. Last month it got $100,000,000 in credits from French, Dutch and German sources for equipment to drain the huge Cienaga de Zapatas swamp on the south coast and turn it into Cuba's rice bowl.

The U.S. press has made no secret of plots by Cuban exiles to overthrow the Castro government; these groups take for granted Washington's favor.

Ward Cannel of the NEA Service recently reported that "friends of the U.S." were merely waiting for "the right man" to unite all anti-Castro groups in Miami, Washington and New York to launch an offensive to "regain power in Cuba." These "friends" were "a mixed bag of exiles who belonged to the Batista regime, ex-Castro supporters, professional gamblers, gun-runners, go-betweeners and career revolutionaries from all over Latin America."

A MATTER OF BUSINESS: One American "little investor," with $10,000,000 in oil, sugar and mineral interests in Cuba, told Cannel.: "I don't like dictatorship any more than the next American. But you can't do business in Cuba today for any amount of money. So my colleagues and I are contributing financial aid to every group working against Castro." Cannel asked whether the anti-Castro forces had any popular support in Cuba. He was told:

"Forget about public opinion. That is the trouble with you Americans. If you are going to bother about the will of the people, nothing will ever get done in Cuba. We are going to put a new man in power and then build public opinion to support him. It is the only way."

American official and press criticism of the Castro government boils down to the following:

- It is not offering to pay "just compensation" to American sugar estate and cattle ranch owners with its decree that payment for property taken over is to be made on the basis of valuation declared for tax purposes.
- It is establishing a military dictatorship by placing top military men in key civilian posts.
- It is "playing into the hands of Moscow" by declaring a policy of neutralism.
- It is persecuting innocent U.S. citizens on trumped-up charges.
- It is a government of the "extreme left," dominated by Communists, which has alienated the "more moderate elements" among the original Castro supporters.

WE DID IT TOO: The Cuban reply to this criticism makes sense at least to Asians and Africans who have been similarly accused, and even to some Americans.

Cubans note—and Rep. Chester Bowles (D-Conn.) also noted (**Times**, Nov. 22, '59)—that the American government confiscated the land of those who fled the country after the 1776 revolution. Moreover, the Castro government points out, U.S. investors not only made enormous profits at the expense of cheap Cuban labor and avoidance of taxes by bribing corrupt dictatorships, but also took all the profits out of the country. The Rev. Arthur Miller, moderator of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S., said after a visit to Cuba last month:

"This is the normal process of revolution . . . . I cannot become too excited over the loss of lands by companies like the United Fruit. These companies came to Latin America knowing the risks and have made huge profits for many years."

THEY AREN'T PROFESSIONALS: It is true that Maj. Ernesto Guevara has been placed in charge of the industrialization plan and at the head of the National Bank. Capt. Nunez Jimenez is the head of INRA, and other members of Castro's revolutionary army are in key posts. What the U.S. press forgets to explain is that these men have never been professional soldiers: they were doctors, lawyers or college professors only a short time ago. Their methods are not military—in sharp contrast to the Batista regime.

Cuba has openly broken away from the Latin American tradition of being a yes-man to U.S. foreign policy. Under Castro, it has sided with the Asian-Africans in the UN and is now trying to convoke a Havana conference of all underdeveloped countries of the world. Other Asian-African nations, notably India, for which President Eisenhower has recently had high praise, have also voted with the Soviet Union on many occasions.

NOT SO INNOCENT: American citizens who have been tried in Cuban courts recently did not seem to be as innocent as the U.S. press implied. For instance, Austin Frank Young, last month sentenced to prison for 30 years, "had been kicked out of Cuba for aiding Batista" early in 1959 and had been in and out of Cuba since then under various disguises. When she learned of his prison sentence, his wife said: "Austin knew the law. They got him cold" (**Newsweek**, Dec. 21, '59).

Persons of varying political beliefs united when they faced a common enemy in Batista. After Batista fell, their differences came to the surface, as it has happened in all past revolutions. Many former members of the 26th of July movement dropped out or were discarded because their views did not suit the urgent, desperate needs of the people, which required a sharp break with the feudal past and a rapid modernization of the economy attainable only through planning. The words "moderate" and "extreme" have no meaning in the Cuban context; for the "moderate" program would mean a prolongation of the misery of the people, and the "extreme" Castro program has gained the support of the people by demonstrable economic progress.

RAUL CASTRO
From student to defense chief

GIVE THEM TIME: The regime undoubtedly is making mistakes, as all pioneers make mistakes. They are going through a period of many-sided revolution and, as Bowles said, Americans had better "adjust themselves in advance to the certainties that reason will not always prevail, that injustices will occur, and that the short-term price paid for long-term stability will often appear exorbitant."

But the most astute comment came from Conrad Massa of the Princeton Theological Seminary staff:

"If our press would give more emphasis to the achievements of the Cuban government, more encouragement to the upbuilding which is a fact in Cuba, and would get horror-stricken less often at violent expressions of a newly found nationalism, the reactions in Cuba would be different from what they have been."

NAZI-STYLE CENSORSHIP

South Africa seeks legislation to gag the press

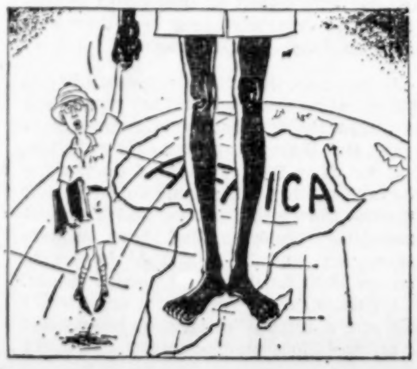
Special to the Guardian
PRETORIA, S. AFRICA

ACCORDING to the **Cape Times** here, press-gagging legislation to be introduced at the next (January, 1960) session of parliament will be based on the 1957 findings of the "Cronje Commission." Prof. G. Cronje, chairman of the commission, is a former chairman of the Ossewa-Brandwag (militant Nationalist and pro-Nazi organization) relief fund, which raised money for persons convicted of sabotage during World War II.

The commission proposed a Publications Board to which all magazines must submit each edition "for inspection." If "one or more editions" were found "undesirable," the magazine would have to await the Board's approval before publishing. Power to close down "undesirable" publications and to impose £500 fines ($1,400) and 2½-year jail terms on publishers would be vested in the courts.

Persons "buying, selling, lending, borrowing, conveying or advertising" such publications would be liable to £1,000 fine and five years. "Undesirable" publications would include those which "tend to engender friction" between racial groups or "to propagate communistic principles."

UNDER THE BAN: Already banned from South Africa are books by Hemingway, Orwell, Robert Graves, Sartre, Nicholas Montsarrat, Defoe and Dostoevsky, and the British pacifist weekly **Peace News**.



The Minister of Justice's banning of Ronald Segal, editor of the "quality" anti-apartheid magazine **Africa South,** drew this comment from the **Cape Times** which published the minister's "case" against him in full:

"If any of this amounts to the methods of Marx and Lenin, there is not a newspaper in the country (including Nationalist newspapers) whose columns would not yield similar evidence of 'furthering the achievement of certain objects of communism' . . . [With regard to speeches Segal was accused of—and denies—making] Mr. Swart obviously has not a case which he can take to court. Therefore he punishes his victim by issuing a ban, without having to prove the facts . . . and with no possibility of appeal against an arbitrary decision."

AN INSPIRED AND INSPIRING WORK

Hiroshima Panels

THE MARUKIS

By John Roberts

Special to the Guardian

TOKYO

"It was a procession of ghosts—ghosts wearing shreds of burnt clothes, ghosts with swollen hands, faces and breasts. Purple blisters broke—and skin hung from bodies like tattered dresses.

"People distracted and deprived of thinking power by the shock of the bomb roamed aimlessly, half-raising their hands. It was a procession of ghosts. This was the reality of Hiroshima . . ."

Iri and Toshiko Maruki
from **The Hiroshima Panels**

LAST MAY we attended the Tokyo International exhibition, curious to see how contemporary Japanese art compared with that of other countries. The show was disappointing. It seemed as if each painter, in submitting to such an exhibition, had felt it necessary to conform to cosmopolitan standards. Mexico had sent paintings by the folklorists and chi-chi decorators. China was absent and the Soviet collection had been delayed. In room after room, the spectator found himself unable to distinguish the country or even the continent in which the artists lived and worked, much less the cultures or concerns of their countrymen.

There was variety, of course: abstraction, expressionism, non-objectivism, even some representation and a vestige of realism. But one unwritten law had been obeyed religiously by most of the painters: If you must be so **gauche** as to mention mankind at all, speak only of the inner turmoil of the sacred individual; any thoughts and feelings that we may have in common are taboo.

BUT IN ONE of the rooms, otherwise distinguished from the rest only by the label "Japan," there was a painting as startling as if we had seen a Goya or a Daumier in the Guggenheim Museum. As big as the side of a Japanese boxcar, almost entirely in black ink, it showed women and children in agony and despair. Far from being an illustration, it was clearly a synthesis of impressions and emotions rooted deeply in the mind and heart. There seemed to be something compulsive about it, but the compulsion was compassionate rather than egotistical. This work, called "Women and Children of Hiroshima," was the eleventh panel in the famous series painted by Iri and Toshiko Maruki.

As soon as we could arrange it, we went to visit the Marukis. In their comfortable suburban home there was no bohemian touch; we were greeted by a cheerful, healthy, middle-aged couple who entertained us with traditional graciousness, serving us the thick grass-green tea used in the **cha no yu** or tea ceremony. There was no trace of fanaticism in their demeanor; but the story they told (so modestly that we had to dig for details) revealed them as single-minded and indomitable fighters for truth and peace.

LIKE MOST JAPANESE, the Marukis were leading a hard, joyless life in the last year of the war. Besides privation and danger, thought-control and regimentation were particularly onerous for the artists and intellectuals who opposed the war. But the bombing of Hiroshima was far more terrible. Iri Maruki's father and mother lived in the stricken city, and as the eldest son he rushed there as soon as he heard the news. His mother had been killed by the bomb. His father was so seriously injured that he died within a year.

Along with able-bodied survivors, Iri and his wife helped as they could to perform the grueling and heartbreaking tasks imposed by the disaster.

As painters, they felt a responsibility to document an event which they recognized as unique in the history of human savagery. But there was no time for painting, nor did they feel capable of portraying the horrors they were living through. But as some order was restored and the most immediate problems had been undertaken, Mr. and Mrs. Maruki began to recover their faculties and to draw again. From their early work, begun unwillingly as a social responsibility, they progressed to an ambitious plan of telling the world about Hiroshima in their own way, through the medium of their art.

HOW DOES ONE tackle such a job? The Marukis were not "social" painters. Iri's work was in the Japanese tradition, characterized by mood of quiet melancholy and resignation. He loved the calm and tranquil things of life. Toshiko had chosen the contemporary European mode whose individualistic emphasis seemed unsuited to an expression of the universal tragedy of Hiroshima. Yet, bound together by a common suffering and a mutual need, they developed a new and epic style, harmonizing the stronger elements of their diverse traditions into a fresh idiom in which intelligibility was not sacrificed to originality-for-its-own-sake.

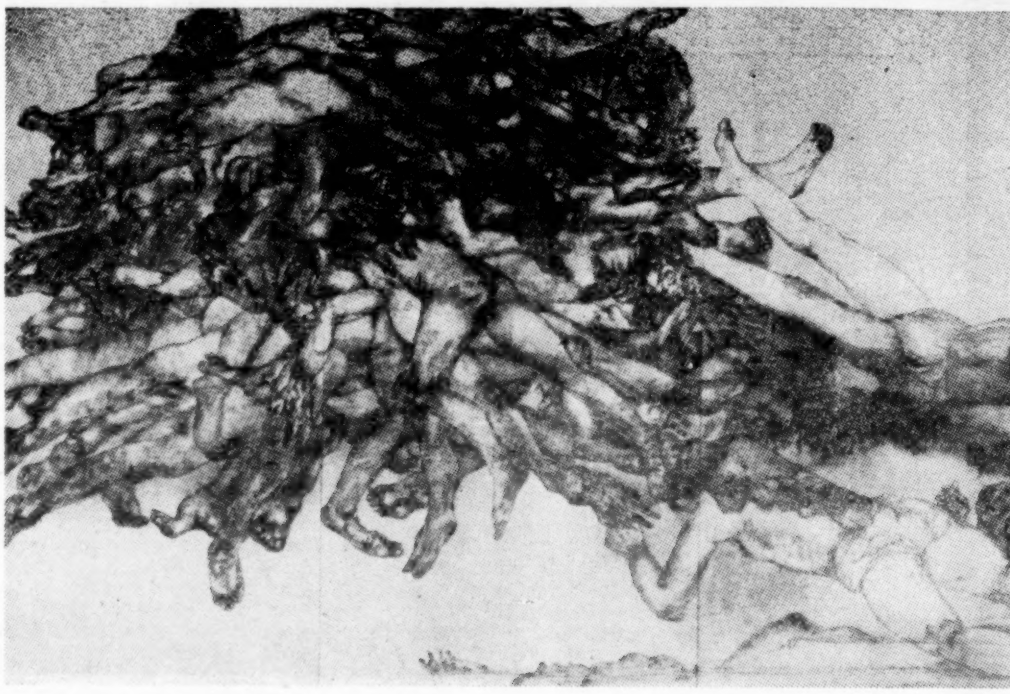
In the Hiroshima panels there is something of Leonardo and Michelangelo, much of Daumier and Goya of the war etchings, and even a hint of surrealism. There is a Japanese influence in the composition and the treatment of the elements (wind, water, fire), and in the medium, black ink on paper with color added rather than integrated. But the Western tendency is the stronger.

AS WE WERE talking, Mrs. Maruki brought out a book of Siqueiros paintings; it turned out to be one for which we had done many of the photographs. We recognized at once the similarity between their work and some of the Siqueiros murals, and they said that they had been strongly impressed by his work. This is natural and understandable.

When the Mexican artists, who had been in Paris dabbling in impressionism, cubism and surrealism, returned to their own country to paint the Revolution, they faced the same problem as that of the Marukis: how to develop a style adequate to the material. And a successful style cannot be produced by dogma, imitation or mystical incantations. It must grow naturally from the subject itself, the intent of the artist and the nature and needs of the audience. It was no surprise, then, that the Marukis had been so strongly drawn to the revolutionary artists of Mexico when faced with similar problems.

One astonishing thing is that the Marukis do not work together by a division of labor; rather, they collaborate on every phase of the design and execution of the panels. There is no grafting of individual effort but a completely successful collective creation which may be unparalleled in the history of art. And, perhaps, of matrimony.

THE FRUIT of their efforts is a series of eleven panels, each on a different theme, but with a consistent impact and a remarkable uniformity of style, considering that they were painted over a period of ten years (not including five years of preliminary work). Somewhat strange in the contemporary art scene



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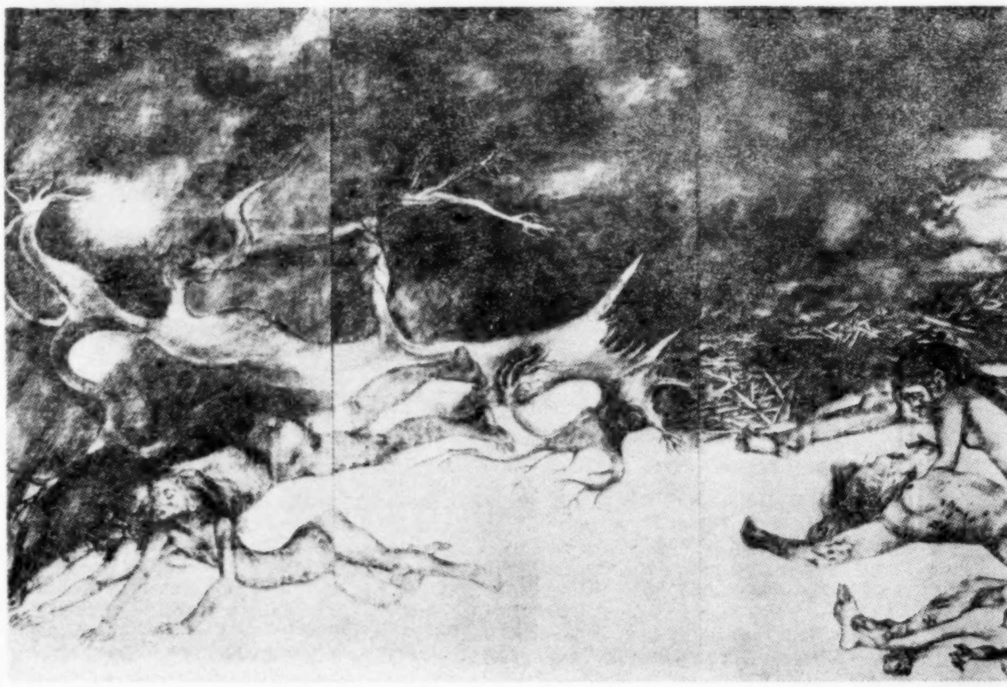

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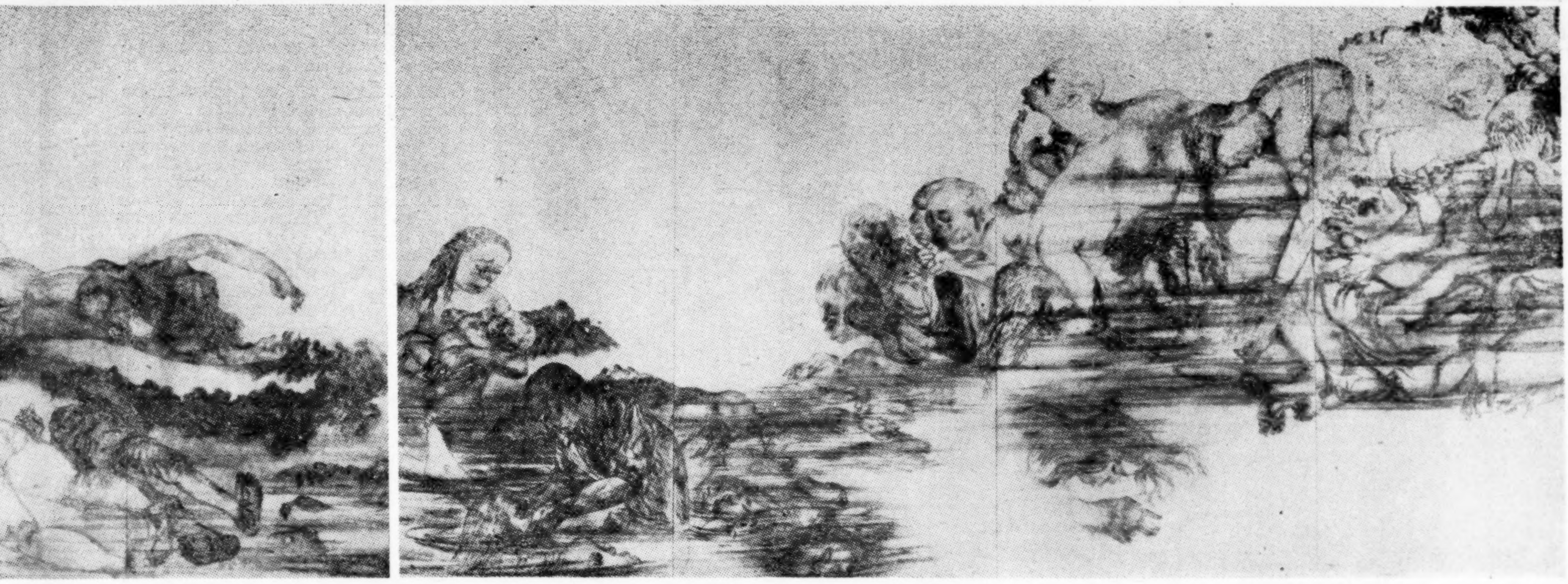
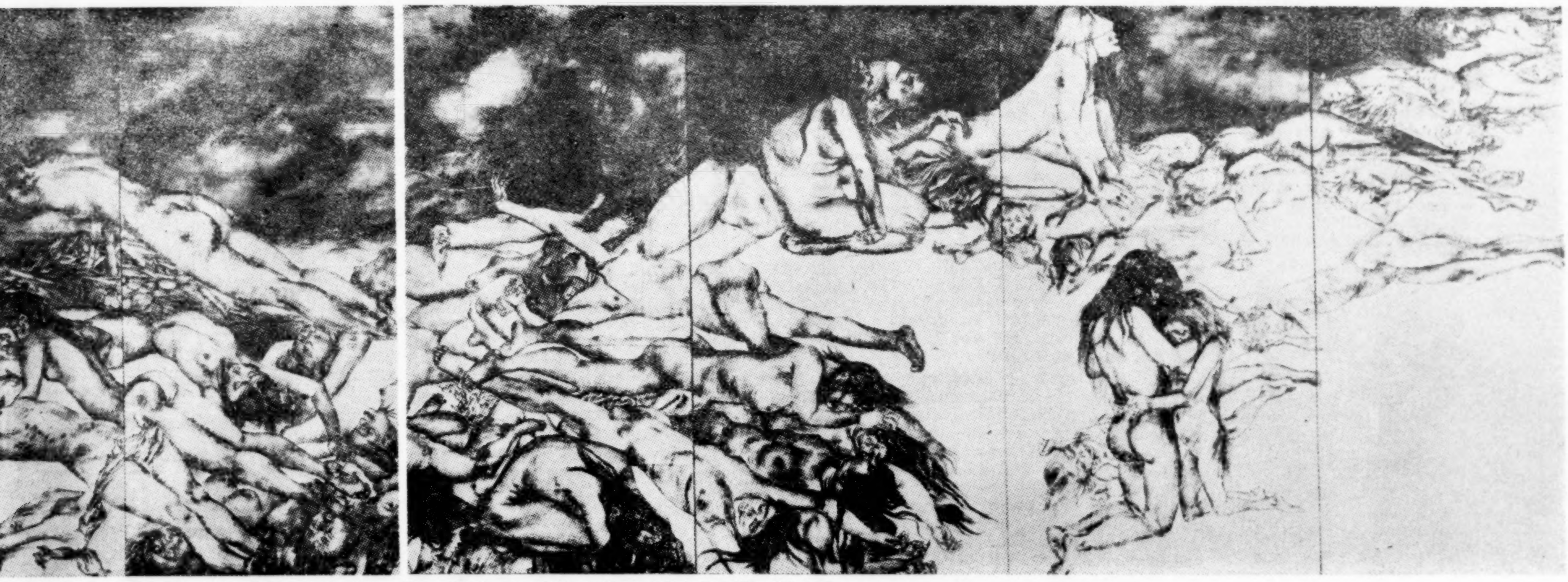


: One of the 6x24-foot paintings reproduced in The Hiroshima Panels. After the bomb and the raging fires it set off, the seven rivers of the city were soon clogged with the bodies of the dead and the dying.



YS AND GIRLS: Another panel shows the school-age victims that artist Iri Maruki and his wife, Toshiko, saw as they searched for Iri's father, uncle and niece.

is the fact that the subject matter consists almost entirely of PEOPLE. They have not chosen to show the tragedy indirectly by depicting screaming horses, blistered walls or picturesque ruins; they have painted real, naked, flesh-and-blood human beings coping in their human ways with the appallingly inhuman atomic bomb and its aftermath.

The first panel, "Ghosts," was shown in Japan in 1950 and was a sensation. Not unexpectedly, it was unpopular with the Occupation authorities and their Japanese yes-men. Further exhibitions were banned and sponsors were arrested. When the bans were relaxed, exhibition space proved difficult to obtain and more than once was canceled abruptly.

Yet the Marukis persevered and the number of Japanese who have seen the panels number more than ten million. A film based on the murals was distributed internationally. Twenty countries have received the exhibit, and the response has been enthusiastic in many cities of Europe, Africa, Asia and Australia. The panels were shown in Moscow and Leningrad last summer and fall, and are now touring Eastern Europe.

WHILE THE MARUKIS' work has won critical praise wherever it has been seen, it is often a source of embarrassment to Japanese critics and artists. Besides its "squareness" in showing the collective suffering of plain, uncomplicated human beings, it has the unfortunate aspect of being "causy." The Marukis didn't plan it that way. They weren't painting propaganda.

But the panels lend themselves to use by anti-war, anti-nuclear movements. Hence, they become automatically suspect to the fashion-conscious Japanese. "It is good and useful, but is it art?" the painters say uncomfortably from behind their drooly canvases or their undiscplined brainstorms of rotten timbers and rusty sheet-iron. Critics, particularly progressive ones, prefer not to mention the subject at all.

But the soundest critics are sometimes the least sophisticated, and the Marukis are loved throughout Japan for their moving and universally understood paintings. They are speaking for the hundreds of thousands who died in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, those who were suddenly deprived of the right to speak for themselves.

For fourteen years, the most productive years of their lives, the Marukis have been working on the Hiroshima panels without even the hope of monetary gain. The honors they have received are few but significant: The Peace Prize from the Japan Peace Committee and a gold medal from the World Peace Council. If they gain any high recognition from the solons of Western Art, it will be for their individual rather than their collective work. For both of them have continued their individual art, and are known and respected for the painting they do to earn the living which enables them to spend so much time on the Hiroshima panels.

WHILE WE WERE visiting the Marukis, we met a young man named Tetsuya Matsuyama, and we later came to know him well. A fledgling publisher, his first book was to be **The Hiroshima Panels**. When the book was completed, he called to present us with a copy. Although the book was beautifully printed, it didn't seem to be a very promising commercial venture and we wondered about his motives. It happened that he too, like Iri Maruki, had lost both of his parents in the atom bombing. He was in Hiroshima when the bomb fell, but distant from ground zero. He was badly burned, but was released from the hospital (hastily set up in a school) after ten days of treatment.

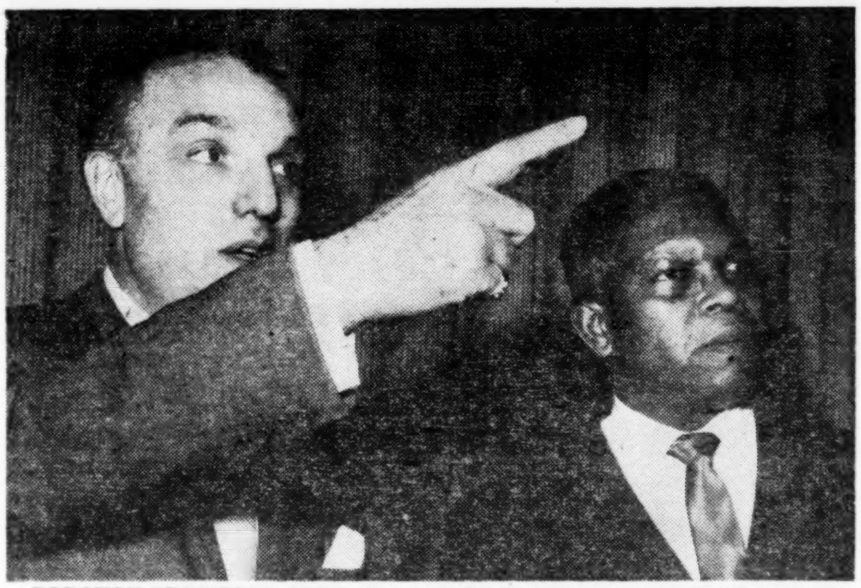
Those ten days of terror, however, and the experience of seeing the burned and mutilated people dying around him, were enough to inflict an ineffaceable wound on young Matsuyama. He was only 14 at the time, and the difficulties of survival as an orphan have had their effect upon him; he was deprived of a university education, so necessary in Japan for anyone aspiring to a reasonably secure status in life. But he managed somehow to gather funds and embarked upon the career of a publisher. We hope, for an ever deeper realization of the Hiroshima tragedy and for a wider appreciation of the Marukis' inspiring work that **The Hiroshima Panels** will be a success.

100 Only! $2.95 each

THE GUARDIAN IS PRIVILEGED TO OFFER 100 copies of **The Hiroshima Panels,** at $2.95 each. **The Hiroshima Panels** is an exquisitely prepared 10½x14, paper-bound book, with 22 black-and-white illustrations of the 6'x24' panels, and two extraordinary color reproductions which recreate their dramatic beauty. All reproductions are "tipped in" (mounted on the page). The text is in Japanese and English, and a special explanation is included with each book. The booklets will be protected by heavy cardboard in shipping. **Only one to a customer.** Use the Guardian Buying Service coupon on Page 12 when ordering.

Hulan Jack case

(Continued from Page 1)

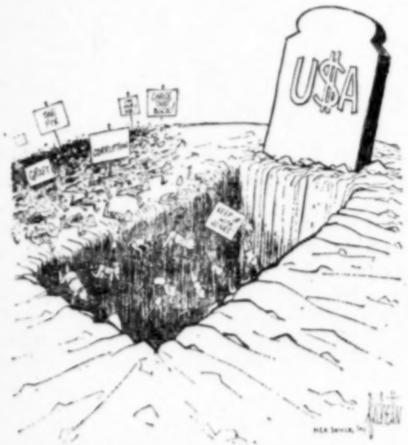


BOROUGH PRESIDENT JACK (R.) AND REAL ESTATE OPERATOR UNGAR
They said it was just a loan from one old pal to another

THE UGLY SPOTLIGHT: Jack told the press, and presumably the grand jury before which he made three appearances, that the payment made by his long-time friend Sidney J. Ungar was a "loan" to be repaid as soon as he caught up with other outstanding debts; that the transaction had no influence on his attitude toward Ungar's bid for a $30,000,000 contract to build a 1,280-apartment development as part of the city's Title I slum clearance program; that, in fact, he had voted against Ungar's application which was unanimously rejected by the Board of Estimate, and that he saw no reason why he should give up his office.

For days Jack was caught in the spotlight of derogatory publicity. Mayor Wagner roused himself sufficiently to say his Borough President had committed "an improper act." The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** charged "gross impropriety," and the **Times** said Jack was "on trial before the public conscience in New York City . . . not because he is a Negro but because his actions have raised a serious question as to his ethics and judgment as a city official." The N.Y. **Post**, which broke the story, felt that the revelations called into question Jack's fitness for office; and the Citizens Union, a private watchdog of public decency, declared that the Borough President had "ended his usefulness as a public official."

SYMPATHY AND PRAYER: Perhaps it was the unanimity and the vehemence of the attack which accounted for the almost instinctive support of Jack by an unlikely grouping of his Harlem neighbors. Four opposition Democratic district leaders (Rep. Adam C. Powell Jr., J. Raymond Jones, Mark T. Southall and Assemblyman Lloyd E. Dickens) asserted in a carefully-worded statement that "venality is not a part of his character" and that they would withhold final judgment until all the facts were in. An interdenominational ministers' meeting voted to send him "our sympathy and prayers" and asked the public not to prejudge the case.



Fremont Guide and Tribune
Gold Rush, 1959

The most ambitious and spirited defense came in a statement issued by Ernest E. Johnson, an insurance executive, on behalf of 20 civic, social and business leaders. The statement attributed the attack on Jack to the political opponents of Tammany boss Carmine De Sapio, "left-wing" Democrats, "phony liberals" and Northern-style "bigots" seeking to "besmirch" him because of his efforts to clean up the city's slums.

TOO FAR OUT: But the protestations in the Johnson statement carried some of the signers farther out on a political limb than they cared to go. In three days five of the "signers" (including Rev. James H. Robinson, opponent of Jack in the 1953 Borough President race, and the editors of Harlem's two Republican weekly newspapers) announced that they had neither read nor signed the statement.

Whatever the outcome—whether Jack's Harlem supporters succeed in rescuing him as a symbol of the community's political influence, or whether Tammany decides to get rid of him as a political embarrassment—it was clear that Jack's predicament was of his own making. He was a creature of Tammany Hall and failed to rise above the standards set by the machine.

The best that could be said of him was that he had not abused the Borough President's office (a traditional breeding ground of scandal and a feeding trough for the party faithful) as brazenly as others; he still lived modestly in a deteriorating Harlem apartment on the edge of a foul slum.

WARNING TO ACCUSERS: This argument was, in fact, made on Jack's behalf by one of his lawyers, Harry Halperin. He told the press: "There isn't any doubt in my mind as far as money is concerned that Mr. Jack is one of the poorest men in the official family—one of the poorest officials in the city." And **Post** columnist Murray Kempton wryly warned Jack's accusers: "But remember, if you drum him out, we needed him and and his kind; who else comes so cheap?"

Hulan Jack began his career of public office as a State Assemblyman from his lower Harlem district in 1940. Like many a Democrat in those days he ran for office on both the Democratic and the American Labor Party lines.

He was not a distinguished legislator in Albany, but he could be counted on to introduce bills against discrimination in industry, semi-public housing and schools, and to denounce anti-Semitism. But the time had not come when Democratic or Republican legislators felt compelled to adopt such measures. The ALP was the major force in the state which initiated and supported such action. Jack was later to describe the 1940's as "an unfortunate period in the history of the Democratic party when it accepted American Labor Party support."

A LITTLE HUNTING TOO: He also learned, as he felt the times required, the uses of political witch-hunting. When, in 1957, a leading Southern segregationist accused him of former left-wing connections, he responded: "I've always denounced the Communists as the group of tyranny, enslavement and Godlessness. I always fought these groups when I became a Democratic leader in the 14th Assembly District . .. I've had no truck with those people . . . I have no knowledge of any time that I gave any one the right to use my name . . . but you never know when somebody will put your name down on something."

With time, Jack changed not only his politics, but his religion as well. He was born in St. Lucia, West Indies, the son of an Anglican minister who eventually became a bishop of the African Orthodox Church, a sect which grew out of the Garvey nationalist movement of the 1920s. Neither of these denominations carries much weight in New York politics. Jack became a convert and a leading layman in the Roman Catholic Church.

WHY SHOULD HE FIGHT? His rise in the jimcrow politics of the Harlem community closely paralleled the rise of another man of humble beginnings in the Democratic politics of the city and state —Carmine De Sapio. When Mayor Vincent Impellitteri tried to dump DeSapio as Tammany boss, it was Jack's vote in the Democratic county committee which saved the post for his friend. He was not one to rock the boat; he told a reporter: "I'm in the organization now. Why should I fight to get in?"

Jack's loyalty as a political organization man paid off in 1953. Four years earlier the ALP had been the first political party to run a Negro candidate for the Borough President's office. But the two old parties then held the line against the growing power of the Negro vote and the consequent demands for big-league representation. The son of a famous former U.S. Senator, Robert F. Wagner Jr., got the Democratic nod and the office.

ALL-NEGRO RACE: But in 1953 the Republicans broke the lily-white front by nominating a Negro, Elmer A. Carter, then director of the State Commission Against Discrimination. Rev. James Robinson became an Independent-Liberal candidate and the ALP gave the nomination to labor leader Andronicus Jacobs. Thus there were three Negro candidates.

The Democrats, boxed in, searched around for an acceptable Negro candidate and, almost as an afterthought, decided to reward Jack's patience and loyalty. What had been since its inception a lily-white office now became the object of an all-Negro field of candidates, and Jack won.

In office Jack was no worse than most of his predecessors and better than many. During his first year as Borough President he administered a budget of $5,200,000, supervised 1,721 city employes, enforced anti-discrimination clauses in city contracts and served on the Board of Estimate, the main legislative and executive arm of New York's clumsy municipal government. In addition he found time to dispense pork barrel jobs to the club house small fry and to have his picture taken breaking ground, snipping ribbons, changing street signs and shaking hands.

UNPOPULAR WINNER: With each year Jack's budget and roster of municipal employes increased—and so did his political distance from the Harlem community. Though he was re-elected in the Democratic landslide of 1957, he was obviously not a popular man among his neighbors. How far he had become removed from them was revealed in 1958 when De Sapio attempted to deny Powell the Democratic designation for Congress in the 16th District. Powell turned his fire on De Sapio as a "plantation boss," and on Jack as an "Uncle Tom." He routed the machine choice, City Councilman Earl Brown, in a primary contest.

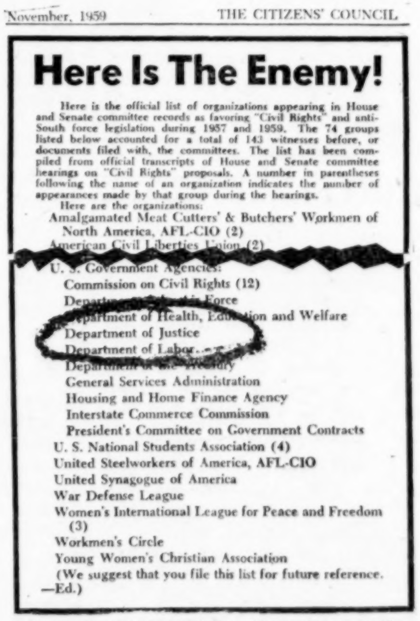
Jack set out to mend his fences in Harlem. He began a series of tours of the community's slums and began to press Mayor Wagner for reforms in the administration of the Title I program. The program has been a bonanza to bankers and builders and a heartache to low-income families. In the last five years 80,000 Manhattan families have been uprooted from slums, some four or five times, with no adequate provisions made for their relocation; often they landed in worse slums than those they vacated, spreading the blight in the name of "slum clearance."

COMPANY FOR TV: Jack called for an end of "dungeon dwellings." Last August a team of building inspectors uncovered 245 violations in the Park Arms apartment at 230 W. 113 St., only a few blocks from his own dwelling. Just around the corner from his house, Mrs. Eugene Lowe of 31 W. 111 St., told him that the "rats watch television with us." She pointed to a passage in the back of her basement apartment where a broken sewer let out fecal matter. Deputy Housing Inspector Harold Birns said he saw in 15 West Harlem tenements such "appalling and inhuman conditions" that it would be an "understatement" to call them slums.

For the people in these rat warrens there must be sadness for Hulan Jack's plight. They know from their own experience how often the little fish get caught while the big fish get away. They know that Jack is on the small time compared to George E. Spargo, the salaried general manager of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority, who in five years received $243,000 in "consultant's fees" from two other public agencies, the Jones Beach State Park Commission and the State Power Authority. They know that the favors Jack has enjoyed are minimal compared to the junkets which the Martin Company, producers of the Titan missile and holders of $800,000,000 in defense contracts, provided for Gen. Nathan F. Twining, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to play golf and relax at the lush Cotton Club on Eleutheria Island in the Bahamas.

They would hate to see Jack dumped and would like to have him on their side. But they must also learn that a Hulan Jack or any Tammany-made politician is an unreliable reed to lean on. They need to know that political insurgency—against Tammany and its tools, against Republican conservatism—is the long-term hope of this downtrodden community. Knowing this, they will realize that Jack's political demise—now or later—does not have to mean the end of Harlem's political influence.

Oops — sorry!



November, 1959 THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL

Here Is The Enemy!

Here is the official list of organizations appearing in House and Senate committee records as favoring "Civil Rights" and anti-South force legislation during 1957 and 1959. The 74 groups listed below accounted for a total of 143 witnesses before, or documents filed with, the committees. The list has been compiled from official transcripts of House and Senate committee hearings on "Civil Rights" proposals. A number in parentheses following the name of an organization indicates the number of appearances made by that group during the hearings.

Here are the organizations:

Amalgamated Meat Cutters' & Butchers' Workmen of North America, AFL-CIO (2)
American Civil Liberties Union (2)

U. S. Government Agencies:
Commission on Civil Rights (12)
Depa[illegible] Force
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Department of Justice
Department of Labor
Department of the Treasury
General Services Administration
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Interstate Commerce Commission
President's Committee on Government Contracts
U. S. National Students Association (4)
United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO
United Synagogue of America
War Defense League
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (3)
Workmen's Circle
Young Women's Christian Association

(We suggest that you file this list for future reference. —Ed.)

IN ITS NOVEMBER, 1959 issue, **The Citizens' Council**, organ of the Citizens' Councils of Mississippi (it is circulated throughout the South) listed 74 organizations as "enemies" of the South for opposing Southern racial views. Among those listed was the Justice Dept. (see above). On Dec. 10 W. J. Simmons, Citizens' Council administrator, said in Jackson, Miss., that the Council paper did not intend to label the FBI as an enemy of the South.

The Louisville **Times** reported: "Simmons said the Justice Dept. was on the list because of pro-integration statements made by Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers, but the FBI 'has never gone on record in favor of any civil rights program.'"

Glad THAT misunderstanding is cleared up.

BOOKS

Twisted facts win the jackpot

THE TOP best seller for many weeks has been the novel of politics, **Advise and Consent,** by Allen Drury.* It's a story of the U.S. Senate, which the author knows well as a reporter for the New York **Times.** The book is a phenomenal commercial success: 140,000 copies sold in the first four months; a Book of the Month Club selection; scheduled for a Broadway theatrical production; and thereafter to be made into a movie. The movie rights alone guarantee the author $200,000 with a top of $450,000. Total income to Drury will exceed one million dollars.

These rewards are understandable. **Advise and Consent** is an intriguing book. It tells the inside story of the private lives and machinations of politicians in our Senate. It exposes some of the pomp and ceremony to tell how things really are behind the scenes. It reveals a bit, it muckrakes a little, although only lightly without probing to the roots. In novel form, it presents much of the gossipy unwritten material that newspapermen know about the Senate and the Senators.

BUT BEYOND this, **Advise and Consent** is an evil book, as palpable a piece of cold-war and anti-peace propaganda as you can find since World War II. Revealing in little things, this book is overall a 616-page falsehood. The facts of recent history are turned completely upside down, the evil becomes the good, and the good, the evil.

The actual victims of McCarthyism are painted as practicing all the venal acts of the McCarthy-Eastland smear artists. Searchers for peace are the villains, champions of the cold war are the heroes in **Advise and Consent.**

This is the story of the struggle in the Senate over the Presidential appointment of a new Secretary of State. The peace-minded President sees an opening in the cold war and an opportunity to develop better relations with the Soviet Union. His Secretary of State (a thinly disguised Dulles) is an avowed cold warrior whom the President feels must be replaced. The man nominated to take his place is a popular liberal figure who is against war and for negotiations with the Russians.

THE APPOINTMENT is bitterly opposed by a combination of Dixiecrats and Northerners who treat the idea of coexistence as a treacherous scheme for appeasement of Communism. Their main weapon is red-baiting, the charge that the nominee had been a Communist in his college days.

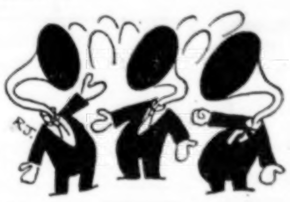
Their informer turns in a shabby performance and appears to be a very unreliable person. Then author Drury blesses his informer with a development lacking precedent in real life—further evidence comes into the hands of the red-baiters that will prove their charges and thus destroy the President's nominee!

IT'S GETTING CROWDED DOWN HERE !

But the President rejects the red-baiting attack. Depicted as a rather evil opinionated man stuck on this idea of peace, the President wages a relentless fight for his nominee. Full of misgivings, the Senate Majority Leader backs the President in the beginning. The President is also actively backed by a liberal Supreme Court Justice named Davis.

SENATOR VAN ACKERMAN, who turns out to be the villain, is the principal pro-peace member of the Senate. His style and actions are made to parallel those of the late Senator Joe McCarthy, except that Van Ackerman is the darling of the left. He is the favorite speaker of COMFORT, the Committee on Making Further Offers for a Russian Truce. At a COMFORT rally in Madison Square Garden, financed by "big New York money," Senator Van Ackerman is quoted as saying about coexistence: "Some say it means crawling to Moscow. I say I had rather crawl to Moscow than perish under a bomb."

By chance, Justice Davis comes across evidence of a homosexual situation in the early life of the Senator who is the main obstacle to winning approval for the new Secretary of State. In order to eliminate this crucial opposition, Justice Davis peddles his gutter informaton to the President, who then passes it to Senator Van Ackerman in a conspiracy of blackmail. All this becomes known privately to the Senator in question, who commits suicide in his Senate office.

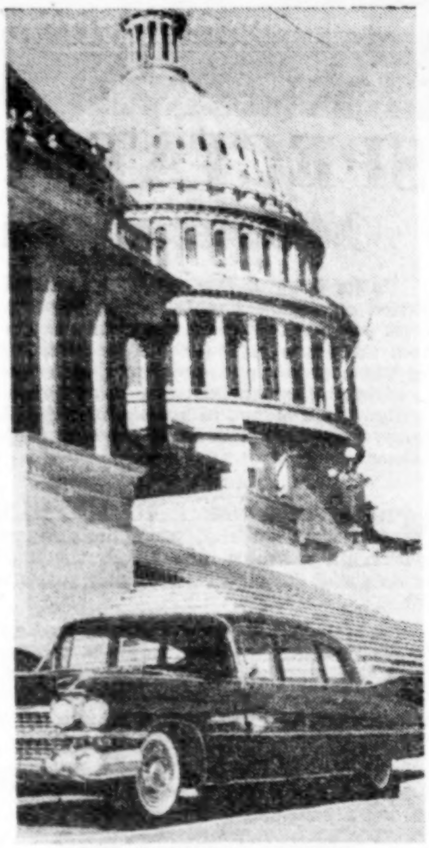


Revulsion sets in. The President's Majority Leader resigns to oppose the nomination, and it is decisively rejected. Senator Van Ackerman is censured by the Senate. The President dies, nobody weeps. The Vice President, now President, proves he's a real leader and puts in as his own Secretary of State the Senator who was the real tower of strength against the former President's pro-peace nominee for the office.

WITHIN this dishonest plot there are many smaller fabrications. The press is pictured as being captured by the left-wing pro-peace forces of the country. A perverted caricature is written of the Soviet and Indian—socialist and neutralist—ambassadors. Krishna Khaleel is shown as an arrogant, distasteful Soviet puppet. In thoroughly implausible scenes, the Soviet Ambassador in Drury's words shouts to assorted diplomats and Senators: "You are fools. All you Westerners are fools. You are dead, but you do not know it."

But in truth it was the McCarthyite-Dixiecrat crowd who used character assassination and gutter tactics against the peace forces of the left and liberals like Justice Douglas. It is true a Senator killed himself in his office, but he was a liberal enemy of McCarthy, and was under pressure from reactionaries.

The fact that one can learn in **Advise and Consent** that some U.S. Senators are drunkards, are dishonest, and sleep in many beds—the fact that the reader can get an enlightening picture of how the Senate Club and its Committees operate—all this does not justify the overall historical distortion of the plot and the clear slander it aims at the peace advocates of our country.



THE CADILLAC CAPITOL
Small truths in a big lie

But without this, perhaps, Mr. Drury would not have his million dollars. Certainly he would not have been able, as he did on January 1, to leave the New York **Times** for a plushy job with **Reader's Digest.**

—Russ Nixon

**ADVISE AND CONSENT, by Allen Drury. Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N.Y. 616 pp. $5.75.*

DEDICATED TO ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS EVERYWHERE

Bitter night of Summer's end

This poem was written by Elli Ioannidou, whose husband, a Greek patriot, was executed in Greece in 1952. It was translated by the English writer Jack Lindsay.

THIS night
there is no moon
to lighten the darkness.
This night,
when summer still is here,
bears heavily upon it
the message of the winter.
Yet another winter.

The dampness sends its shiver
throughout the prison.
The clouds are casting shadows
into the cells,
shadows cut by bars.
Yet another winter.

This one as well we'll count,
we the prisoners,
and each of us will give it
his number:
Tenth,
Seventh,
Thirteenth.
Yet another succession
of frozen days.
Yet another succession
of grey skies tremulously moving
through the grey light.
Yet another winter
to lie and think
secretly at night
tight-wrapt inside your blanket
about the life that people live,
the simple human life:

the window full of light,
the door which opens,
the door which you yourself throw open
with your two hands:
the two small hands
that wait to clasp your neck,
and round the table where the meal is laid
the ones you love,
those who survive
and those departed—
they also yet are close.
Ah, life of men, where are you?
Footsteps echoing
across the quiet of the night—
they move and stop and turn about
and quickly hasten forward.
The steps of a free man
across the quiet of the night—
where are you now?

A town that lies
along the seacoast,
a town which hears unceasingly
the whispering, the moaning
of the sea.
And from its shore
you may confront
the expanse of blue,
the boats and the town's harbor
smelling of rotten seaweed and of pitch,
tumultuous wave, wave of the sea,
dear wave,
where are you now?

Ah, human river
pouring out on the streets
when factories stop
and shops are shut,
river of men, boisterous and many-colored,
where are you now?

And the sun, the sun of noon,
on the white houses,
flashed in the mirror of the sea,
and on the asphalt, on the earth,
the sun that dazzles eyes
and drips with life, a sweet and burning drink,
the sun of earth,
the sun of people,
where are you now?

Unfriendly building, disemboweled, bare,
whose name's enough
to cast a shadow on the blithest heart,
bare building, barer yet
than the stript tree of winter,
unsated like the Minotaur,
heavy and lonely building, chilly,
with your great iron gate
which stands
between the life of those who see the sun
and the life of those remembering the sun,
we do not hate you.
What more still do you want of us?
If it is youth you want,
the boy of fifteen grew old within your walls.

Or if it's lives you want,
the lives have passed across your doorstep
and turned at Goudi into bloodied corpses.
Or if it's years you want,
you took our years and made them all your own.
You took our days and took our nights
and made them all the same.
Unsated building,
what more still do you want of us?
Building thick with mildew and stupidity,
we do not hate you,
nor your barbed wire
on which come down to rest
the sparrows and the doves,
your yellow palmtree,
your wet and reeking yard,
your paint decayed
and falling in big flakes away.
Not even your enclosing walls.

We do not love you.
And if our life
flows on without being yours
and if you have made it yours
year after year
our life,
you are not our home and you never will be.
We do not hate you.
We look on you with pride
as a memorial composed
of all our youth, our life,
as a memorial to our faith and pride.
We do not love you.
We do not hate you.
Inside your walls
we live the lives of those who do not see the sun,
we live the lives of those remembering the sun.
We look on you with pride.
Outside, our country's sun
awaits us.
One day we shall go out to find it.
One day we too shall join
the life of those who see the sun.

—Elli Ioannidou

the SPECTATOR

Middletown in 1969

In its issue of Dec. 8, 1959, the Middletown (Conn.) Press *carried an editorial which said: "Wesleyan University Trustees upset campus wagering last weekend by deciding to withdraw from the National Defense Education Act program. This is the act which requires students to sign a loyalty oath. . . . There is no telling where an idea like this might stop. In today's column entitled 'At Random' this thought is developed further by Editor Derry D'Oench." D'Oench's column, projected ten years ahead, follows.*

DECEMBER 1, 1969

MIDDLETOWN WAS THROWN INTO A TURMOIL this morning (note dateline) when the government announced that it would begin enforcing immediately the Snodgrass-O'Reilly bill that requires that all citizens receiving government aid sign a loyalty oath.

On Main street, citizens were queued up at the Post Office four abreast. The line stretched down to the Arrigoni Hotel. Postal employes were working overtime, but claimed that the oaths, which have to be made out in quadruplicate, were taking up so much room in the Post Office that there was no place to store the mail.

Middletown's postmaster declared: "What can I do. The mail is carried at a subsidy and thus everyone must sign the oath because they are receiving government aid." He admitted that mail had not been delivered for a week.

All residents are compelled to check first at a special window to determine whether or not they can mail a letter. The names of all residents who have signed the oath are kept on file here, and if their name is on the list, their letter is stamped "Approved For Mailing." The stamp is numbered, and a special report on each letter mailed is prepared for forwarding to Washington.

MIDDLETOWN BANKS WERE in a similar quandary. All citizens with loans underwritten by the government were asked to report to the bank to sign an oath. A small riot almost ensued at Middletown Savings Bank when a fat child almost got stuck in the baby-sitting chair in the lobby. Police demanded to see the mother's loyalty oath card before agreeing to release the child. He had turned red, and this made police suspicious.

The Fire Department was also having its troubles. Firemen, like policemen, are paid by public funds, and the new law is most strict on this point. Four houses burned down last week, before the home-owners could produce their loyalty cards.

Supermarkets reported falling sales in the egg, cereal, and other departments selling foodstuffs under government subsidy. All shoppers had to produce their loyalty cards before being allowed to purchase eggs. The grocery chains, due to efficient lobbying, are only required to file reports in triplicate.

A survey by the **Press** this morning showed that factories, shipping by rail and air, were also tied up. The railroads won a government subsidy five years ago, and hence every package being shipped had to have a label affixed to it saying the president of the company did not believe in communism. Prescribed colors for the labels are red, white and blue.

City departments were swamped with new regulations. All welfare recipients are required to sign the new oath after each weekly payment, and police were ordered out to check the new loyalty license plates. The new plates whistle "God Bless America" every five minutes.

THERE WAS PEACE AND QUIET only at one place yesterday. That was at Wesleyan where students gave up signing the oath ten years ago. However, not as much could be said for city schools. They had a problem after it was discovered that all kindergartens would have to be closed down—because the kiddies could not yet sign their name, even if they wanted to. The local school board was to meet this morning to explore whether or not a privately financed kindergarten could be set up. The school superintendent recalled that this had not worked very well when it was tried in Little Rock, Arkansas, some eleven years ago. The School Board was in particular uproar today, following the disclosure that all American students at the University of Moscow are now carried at full scholarship. They never have been asked to sign a loyalty oath.

—**Derry D'Oench**

Bridges Speaks Jan. 8 at First Church in L.A.

HARRY BRIDGES, president of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, will speak on Fri., Jan. 8, at 8 p.m., in the auditorium of the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles, 2936 W. 8th St., under the auspices of the Unitarian Public Forum.

Bridges, who recently returned from a trip through Europe, the Middle East, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, will speak on **Labor and the Cold War.** He conferred with labor leaders in all these countries.

Admission is $1. Tickets can be obtained at the Church Office or by mail if the order is accompanied by check or money order. A question and answer period will follow the talk.

NEW YORK

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ANNE ALLAN
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PETER SEEGER, folk songs
LITTLE ROCK USA and other dance numbers
Choreographed & directed by EDITH SEGAL
UNITED JEWISH PHILHARMONIC CHORUS, MAURICE RAUCH, cond.
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Tickets: $2.50, $2, $1.50, tax included.

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Cross Country, West Coast Speaking Tour

JANUARY
16-19 Cleveland
20-23 Detroit
24-28 Chicago
29 St. Louis
30-31 Denver

FEBRUARY
1- 3 Phoenix
4- 5 San Diego
6-21 Los Angeles
22-28 San Fr'cisco

MARCH
Portland (Feb.29-Mar. 2)
3- 4 Seattle
5- 8 Vancouver
9-10 Twin Cities
11 Madison
12-13 Des Moines
14-18 Chicago
19-21 Detroit
Cleveland
22-24 Toronto

(A FEW DATES OPEN FOR ADDITIONAL LECTURES IN OR NEAR THESE CITIES. WRITE IMMEDIATELY FOR DETAILS.)
MAY 6-JUN 22—Dr. Rubinstein is leading a 7-week trip to France, East Germany, Czechoslavakia, Poland, the Soviet Union, Sweden, Denmark and England.
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An unexpected rush of orders exhausted publisher's stock in November—a fresh batch has just emerged from the bindery.
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PUBLICATIONS

Labour Monthly
An authoritative English socialist magazine of articles and comments on world affairs.
$3 a year
LABOUR MONTHLY
134 Ballards Lane,
London N. 3, England
Edited by R. Palme Dutt

WHAT IKE FORGOT

Committee asks aid for refugees

A STATEMENT CALLING for help to "those Spaniards who were our allies during World War II" has been issued by Spanish Refugee Aid, 80 E. 11th St., New York City.

"On the occasion of President Eisenhower's visit to Generalissimo Francisco Franco in Madrid, the executive committee of Spanish Refugee Aid feels that the American people will also want to remember those Spaniards who were our allies in World War II," the statement declares. "These are the Spanish Republican refugees, 150,000 of whom have been living in France, often in misery and poverty, since 1939. They lost their homes, health, jobs and country because they would not live under a dictatorship."

Spanish Refugee Aid was formed in 1953 to assist these exiles. The honorary chairmen are General Lazaro Cardenas, former president of Mexico, and Pablo Casals, world-famous musician and Spain's distinguished exile. Novelist Mary McCarthy is chairman of the group.

A campaign for $25,000 for a special World Refugee Year project was also announced by the committee. Funds will go to establish a center for elderly, impoverished Spanish refugees in Montauban, France.

New lecturers speak at Marxist school

MAUD RUSSELL, lecturer and writer on China, will be the first in a series of six guest lecturers to be presented during the weeks of Jan. 4 and 11 by The Faculty of Social Science, 80 E. 11th St. Others scheduled for the **Pre-View Forums** include Carl Marzani, Louis Burnham, Shirley Graham Du Bois, Louis Weinstock and Murray Young.

In her talk Mon., Jan. 4, at 8 p.m., Miss Russell will tell of her recent three-month stay in China, and show colored slides. On Wed., Jan. 6, Mr. Marzani will compare two recent novels, his own **The Survivor**, and Allen Drury's **Advise and Consent.** Fri., Jan. 8, Mr. Young will speak on "Bringing the Schools Closer to Life," a discussion of the recent proposed educational changes in the Soviet Union.

CALENDAR

CHICAGO

MEMORIAL MEETING for **MOSES RESNIKOFF**, former manager of Morning Freiheit in Chicago for 25 years, Sun., Jan. 3, 2 p.m., at Albany Park Cultural Center, 5818 N. Kedzie Av. Prominent speakers. Ausp: Resnikoff Memorial Committee.

CLEVELAND

SUNDAY—JANUARY 17th—8 p.m.
"THE CHALLENGE of 1960"—A discussion of the Candidates, Issues & Parties.
Hear:
CHARLES Loeb, Managing Editor **Cleveland Call-Post**
SAM POLLOCK, President Local 427, Amalgamated Meat Cutters
MORRIS RIGER, Regional Director, Textile Workers AFL-CIO
MODERATOR: **WALT DAVIS**, Member of Cleveland School Board and Educational Director Local 880 Retail Clerks Union
at Unitarian Society of Cleveland
8143 Euclid Av.
Ausp: **Social Action Committee, Unitarian Society**

LOS ANGELES

SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM
presents **Winter Series**
THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917
3 lectures by Theodore Edwards
Jan. 10—ECONOMIC & SOCIAL CAUSES —TOWARD CAPITALISM OR SOCIALISM
Jan. 17—**THE DYNAMICS** of the **RUSSIAN REVOLUTION** & THE ROLE OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY
Jan. 24—**THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION** —ITS BALANCE SHEET

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION TODAY
3 lectures by Milton Alvin
Jan. 31—**HOW THE STALIN REGIME** WAS FORMED & DEFEATED ITS RIVALS 1918-1928
Feb. 7—**THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE STALIN REGIME** 1929-1945
Feb. 14—**THE SOVIET UNION AS A WORLD POWER**—ITS PRESENT POSITION AND THE FUTURE, 1945-1960
ALL SESSIONS MEET SUNDAY 11 A.M.
FORUM HALL
1702 E. 4th St. Los Angeles 33, Calif.
AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238

SCOTT NEARING Series
Three Monday Evenings 8 p.m.
Jan. 11: "The USSR After Sputnik"
Jan. 18: "China's Communes"
Jan. 25: "The Choices Before Us"
Channing Hall, Unitarian Church
2936 W. 8th St. Course Tickets $2.50
Single admission $1.

NEW YORK

The First Three of Six
PRE-VIEW FORUMS
to be held during registration for our Winter Term classes

MONDAY, Jan. 4, at 8 p.m.
"China As I Saw It"
A first-hand account of a 3-month stay with scores of colored slides
MAUD RUSSELL

WEDNESDAY, Jan. 6, at 8 p.m.
"Washington—Two Views"
A critical comparison of two novels, **The Survivor** and **Advise & Consent**
CARL MARZANI

FRIDAY, Jan. 8, at 8 p.m.
"Schools Closer to Life"
A factual & analytical study of recent developments in Soviet education
MURRAY YOUNG

Single admission to each forum: $1
For each series of three: $2.50

Catalogs now ready with full listings and descriptions of classes

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Rm. 227 80 E. 11 St. (Bway) GR 3-6810

Registration Opens Monday, Jan. 4
For Our
WINTER TERM

Classes meet once weekly for 8 weeks, from 6:45 to 8:15, or 8:30 to 10 p.m. Full class fee: $7 (50c reg. fee).
MONDAYS
"Human Freedom," "U.S. Labor History," "Economics of Capitalism," and others.

TUESDAYS
"1960 Elections," "Public Speaking," "Trade-Union Problems," and others.

WEDNESDAYS
"Coexistence & Competition," "Negro Liberation Movement," "Dialectical Materialism & Art," and others.

THURSDAYS
"Puerto Ricans in U.S.," "Pavlov & Psychology," "The World Today," and others.

Catalogs are now ready, giving full course listings and descriptions. For further information, call or write:
THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
Rm. 227 80 E. 11 St. (Bway) GR 3-6810

NOTICE
The Full-Day Conference on
"THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGE OF DISARMAMENT"
originally scheduled for Sat., Jan. 16 has been postponed to **Sat., Jan. 30.** For full details, see next week's issue.
THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
Rm. 227 80 E. 11 St. (Bway) GR 3-6810

"FREEDOM RALLY FOR HENRY WINSTON"
Wed., Jan. 6, 8 p.m., at Allerton Community Center, 683 Allerton Av., Bronx. Speakers: **ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, JOHN ABT**, attorney for Mr. Winston. **Ausp:** Bronx Comm. for Civil Rights.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.
Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 197 East 4th Street, New York 9, N.Y.

SEAMEN'S MIDWINTER SHINDIG
Saturday night, Jan. 16th
Polonia Club 201 2nd Av.
Songs by Frenchie — Cont. $1.50
Free Beer
Ausp: Seamen's Defense Committee.

"ENJOY A MEXICAN VACATION"
Lecture, music, color film, fiesta atmosphere, Sun, Jan. 3, 7:30 p.m., 310 W. 71 St., Studio 5. Contrib. Phone: DA 8-6154 afternoons, SU 7-6744 eves.

DISCUSSION GROUP meets every Wed. in members' homes in Manhattan. Human relations, arts, psychology, topic. Non-political, non-sectarian. For info. and invitation call MO 2 8488.

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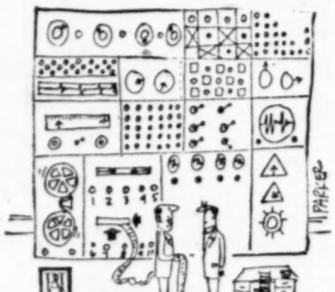
PUBLICATIONS

JANUARY ISSUE, JEWISH CURRENTS JUST OUT FEATURES JAMES WARBURG'S CONTROVERSIAL ADDRESS, "ISRAEL & THE JEWS OF AMERICA," ISSUES & EVENTS BY MORRIS U. SCHAPPPES AND A 'PARENTS CORNER' DISCUSSION OF I.L. PERETZ FOR YOUNG PEOPLE. NEW SUBSCRIPTION RATE $4 YEARLY ($4.50 outside U.S.). Single copies 40c. Write to **Jewish Currents**, 22 E. 17 St., NYC 3.



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CY 8-0420

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Canadian peace groups set rally for Feb. 7

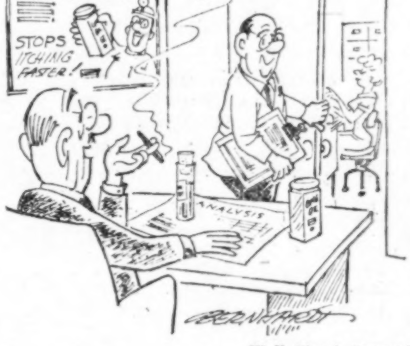
THE CANADIAN Peace Congress and the Toronto Association for Peace will jointly sponsor a rally for peace and disarmament Feb. 7. Dr. James G. Endicott, chairman of the Congress, will report on the January meeting of the World Council of Peace in Rome, and there will be a program of music, dramatic readings and speakers from abroad. The rally will be held in Massey Hall, Toronto. Further information can be obtained by writing the Congress office, P.O. Box 218, Station Q, Toronto 7, or by calling LEnnox 6-2754.

THE GALLERY

NEW YORKERS GOT ONE of the nicest holiday gifts ever when the Federal Communications Commission approved the transfer of FM radio station WBAI to the Pacifica Foundation, a nonprofit educational institution which operates KPFB in Berkeley and KPFK in Los Angeles. The transfer represented a gift from industrialist Louis Schweitzer who operated the New York station as a hobby.

Schweitzer said that he gave away the station when he found it was impossible to combine an intelligent program policy with a modest profit. "What I wanted to make out of WBAI was a kind of Off Broadway radio station," he said. In this he was only half successful. The station offered interesting and varied programs, but it attracted few sponsors.

"We kept trying to get more sponsors," Schweitzer said. "Then, during the newspaper strike last year, we found ourselves besieged by sponsors. We had more commercials than we could handle. And I listened to the station and thought it was awful. . . . And I realized right then that that was not what I wanted at all. I saw that if this station ever succeeded, it would be a failure."



Wall Street Journal

"Have the boys in the lab whip up a batch of 'BRAND X', for comparison purposes—"

Schweitzer decided to get rid of the station. He received several good offers, but each prospective buyer was interested mainly in turning the station into a profit-making venture. "Then suddenly it dawned on me," Schweitzer said, "if I wanted this station to succeed, I had an easy out. All I had to do was to give it away to Pacifica."

He called Pacifica president Harold Winkler, a former Harvard professor of political science, and told him the station was his as a gift.

Pacifica's West Coast stations have had remarkable success. They have a large and devoted audience happy to have an alternative to TV. In addition to a regular fare of classical, jazz and folk music, the stations offer performances of unabridged plays by authors ranging from Aeschylus to Shakespeare to Sartre, many produced by the British Broadcasting Corp. with top-notch casts; frequent poetry readings; first presentations of works by modern classical composers; a course in Asian philosophies; an analysis of the Soviet press by William Mandel; and free discussion of controversial contemporary issues by people ranging in view from ultra-conservative to Marxist.

The stations accept no advertising. For sustenance they rely on listeners becoming subscribers at $12 a year. Subscribers receive only a program guide listing programs in advance and the satisfaction of maintaining an adult radio station.

WBAI will need 10,000-15,000 subscribers to stay in business. To get over the first hurdles Winkler is soliciting funds from foundations, but, he says, subscriptions will be open to the public soon.

Winkler laid out his policy: "We're completely independent, so we don't ever have to succumb to the temptation to play it safe. We thrive on controversy. We can—and, in fact, we do—take the First Amendment seriously, deeming it important that unpopular, minority viewpoints should have an opportunity to be heard. With none of the usual ogres to inhibit us, we have nobody to blame but ourselves if we don't do a good job."

NEW YORKERS HAD ANOTHER CAUSE to turn to radio when TV station WNTA fired satirist Henry Morgan Dec. 22 for lampooning a commercial. As Morgan put it: "A funny thing happened to me before I left for the studio last night—I was fired." The night before he had criticized Life cigarettes which claim that statistics showing they are "lowest in tars and nicotine" are "on file with the U.S. government," Morgan said: "Well, so are my fingerprints." In Morgan's usual spot the station ran a Robin Hood film. Morgan summed up the lot of the satirist: "There are two kinds of people you can't work for—those who are making money because they get nervous and those who aren't making money because they blame you." . . . On the authority of some of the world's top scientists it can be said that TV can give you a pain in the neck. **The Lancet**, journal of the British Medical Society, reported a new species of disease: "Television collapse." Extended viewing can bring on these ailments: TV neck, stiffness among the upper vertabrae from watching in a chair which is too low or too high; TV thrombosis, blood clots from sitting immobile in an awkward position; TV fits, convulsions in borderline epileptics brought on by flickering of the screen; TV arteries, degeneration of blood vessels from slouching in an easy chair after a heavy meal and TV heart attack, brought on by over-exciting programs. **The Lancet** editors suggest that viewers get out of their chairs at least once an hour and walk briskly around the room . . . Jack Barry, producer and master of ceremonies of the rigged quiz show, **Twenty One**, has found a new job: executive vice president of Fragrance Process Co., specialists in aromatic advertising.

—Robert E. Light

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Now You Can Save Up to 40% on All Photographic Supplies and Equipment!

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GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

AS ANNOUNCED LAST WEEK, Guardian Buying Service has a wonderful surprise for camera fans. During 1960 we will be able to save you between 30 and 40% over retail list costs on all—and we mean **ALL**—photographic supplies and equipment! Just look at some of the buys on this page—the Bell & Howell 393E 8mm motion picture camera, which sells regularly for $169.95 (Turret-type with "electric eye"!), for only $129.95. The same big discount applies to all Kodak, Revere, De Jur and Keystone cameras, projectors and accessories, as well as black and white or color film and processing! GBS can now become "film headquarters" for all your photographic needs. All equipment and service is fully guaranteed. Shop around, and compare our prices. And if you want equipment that is not listed, please write and ask us to quote a price.

TAPE RECORDERS

A Best Buy

The Revere T-1100

Portable; dual track; 3¾ and 7½ ips; one motor; frequency response: 85 to 7,000 cps + or — 3 db at 3¾ ips, 85 to 12,000 cps + or — 3 db at 7½ ips; wow 0.3%; single neon lamp 2-level (normal, overload) indicator; reel size 7-in.; 5-watt amplifier; output impedance 3.2 ohm; over-all distortion 0.8%; signal-to noise ratio 48 db; two 5¼-in. speakers; 2 position; record and play, single-knob control releases pressure pads and drive roller when power is switched off; zero-set, 3-digit counter; single tone control; loudness feature on volume; ceramic microphone; steel and Fiberglass case covered with laminated Irish linen; 9½x14x13½-in. weight, 33 lb; complete with microphone, radio-TV cord, 1,200 ft tape, empty reel, and spare pressure pads. Price, $169.50.

GBS PRICE $129.95

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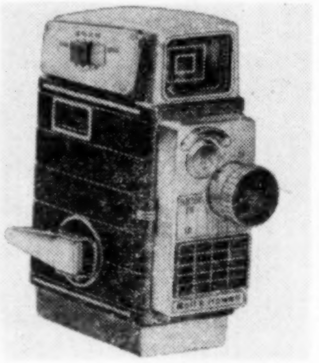
NEWSPAPER

Motion Picture Cameras



BELL & HOWELL
Perpetua 390E

A wonderful all-purpose camera! Roll-loading; built-in electric eye automatically sets lens for correct exposure; adjusts for films rated 10 through 40. Finder indicates fields of normal, wide angle and telephoto lenses. Operates at 16 frames per second only; takes single exposures or "run-lock"; 10-foot film run. 10-mm f/2.3 prime lens; accepts wide-angle or telephoto auxiliary lenses.

List Price $99.95
GBS PRICE $74.95

Perpetua 390TE

Same as Perpetua 390E. but with 3-lens turret: 10-mm f/2.3 prime lens, plus 6.5 mm wide-angle lens and 25 mm telephoto auxiliary lens.

List Price $139.95
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Perpetua 393E

Same as 390TE, except that it has an f/1.8 prime lens.

List Price $169.95
GBS PRICE $129.95

EASTMAN KODAK BROWNIE MODEL 2

8 mm silent; capacity 25 ft double-width; spring drive; rotary shutter; 16 frames per second, at speed of 1/35 sec; spring run 7 ft; mechanical footage indicator; wire frame viewfinder; fixed focus; built-in lens shade; sprocketless loading; exposure guide. List Price, f/2.3 model, $32.50.

GBS PRICE $25.95

BROWNIE AUTOMATIC 2.3 (Electric Eye)

Roll-loading; built-in light meter for fully automatic exposure control; operates with films speed-rated from 5 to 40; fixed-focus 13-mm Kodak Cine Ektanar f/2.3 lens. Camera speeds, 16 fps; useful spring run, 10 ft; sports-type finder with parallax correction; low-light indicator; automatically resetting footage dial; device to prevent film unspooling. Price, $74.50.

GBS PRICE $57.95

CINE-KODAK Automatic f/1.9

Roll-loading; fully automatic exposure control for use with films speed-rated from 10 to 40; provision for manual control; fixed-focus 13-mm Kodak Cine Ektanar f/1.9 lens; built-in Type A filter; camera speed 16 fps. Telescopic finder with parallax adjustment; low-light indicator; f-stop scale; automatically resetting footage counter. List Price, $92.50.

GBS PRICE $71.95

POLAROID CAMERAS & OUTFITS

POLAROID CAMERAS

MODEL	LIST	GBS PRICE
80A	$ 74.95	$ 59.95
95B	$ 97.75	$ 79.95
150	$113.50	$ 91.95
110A	$172.50	$135.00

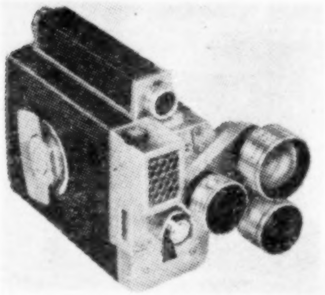
OUTFITS (Camera, Case, Wink-Light and 2 picture rolls)

80A	$109.95	$ 84.95
95B	$136.95	$109.95
150	$151.95	$122.95
110A	$210.95	$165.95

AUTOMATIC TURRET

Similar to single-lens model above, but with built-in tri-lens turret; complete with fixed-focus 13-mm Kodak Cine Ektanar f/1.9 lens and 6.5 mm wide-angle and 24-mm telephoto f/1.9 converters; tri-field optical telescopic finder with parallax correction; built-in Type A filter. List Price, $124.50.

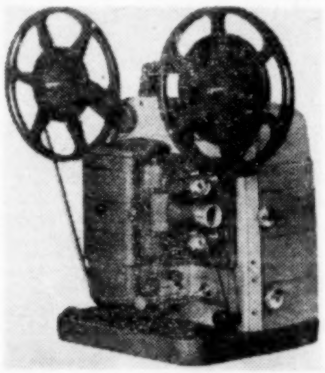
GBS PRICE $95.95



BELL & HOWELL PROJECTORS
Model 253 AX

8-mm silent; 400-ft capacity; line-voltage 10-130; 60-cycle a-c; B&H 500-watt concentrated-filament lamp with pre-aligned base; blower-cooled; rotary-disk shutter; tilt device; swingout lens mount; helical focusing; sealed lubrication; gear-driven reel arms; motor rewind; die-cast aluminum housing, die-cast aluminum case.

List Price ....$ 79.95
GBS PRICE ....$ 59.95



Model Lumina 1.2

Film capacity 400 ft; 150-watt 21.5-volt lamp f/1.2 lens; variable speed motor; single-frame projection. Automatic room-light switch; automatic cord rewind.

List Price (f/1.6 Lens) $159.95
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K460- 8mm mag.	$5.55	$4.29
K447-16mm mag.	$8.30	$6.50
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"Infallible"

ELECTRIC EYE automatically sets wide-view Super Comat lens; uses 127 film; comes with specially designed flash gun and genuine leather carrying case with shoulder strap. Red flag in view finder warns if light is inadequate; automatic shutter control prevents double exposure.

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Also available as Brownie Hawkeye flash outfit, with flasholder, 2 batteries, 6 M2 flash bulbs, roll of film and instruction booklet. List Price $13.95

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BROWNIE STARFLASH

Makes 12 1-⅝ x 1-⅝ exposures on 127 roll film; fixed focus; extra large eye-level optical viewfinder; double exposure prevention; produces square transparencies that fit 2x2 slide projector or viewer. Built-in flasholder. List price $8.95.

GBS PRICE $7.40

As Brownie Starflash outfit, with one roll of film, 2 pen-light batteries, M2 flash bulbs and instruction booklet. (List Price $10.35)

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(Carrying Case ....$2.50)

BROWNIE STARFLEX

Same camera as Starflash but twin-lens reflex-type with hooded waist-level viewfinder. List Price $10.75.

GBS PRICE $8.50
(Carrying Case ....$2.50)

As Brownie Starflex outfit, with flasholder, film, lamps, battery and instruction booklet. (List Price $16.95)

GBS PRICE $12.95

BROWNIE STARMATIC

Uses 127 film, giving 1⅝ x 1⅝-in. frame size; built-in light meter for fully automatic exposure control; functions with films speed-rated from 32 to 125; optional manual settings for flash or special effects; finder has insufficient-light signal; turns tinted when camera is set for manual operation; fixed-focus 3-element 44-mm f/8 lens; built-in flash synchronization; double exposure prevention; weight, approximately 8 oz. List Price, including adjustable neck strap, $34.50.

GBS PRICE $25.95